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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL ATHLETIC DIRECTOR: A DESCRIPTION

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BY

ELLEN O'REILLY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING 1987

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ISBN 0-315-37831-X

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DEGREE: MASTER OF EDUCATION

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1987

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Ellen O'Reilly
(Student's signature)

7613 - 153 St
(Student's permanent address)
Edmonton, Alta

Date: April 16 1987

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled A FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL ATHLETIC DIRECTOR: A DESCRIPTION submitted by ELLEN O'REILLY in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

Andrea
(Supervisor)

Date: April 16, 1987.

For
my parents

ABSTRACT

Three questions were asked in this descriptive study of a female high school athletic director. These questions examined the role of an athletic director in a typical urban high school, how the athletic director constructed her reality and the process of acquiring and maintaining legitimization and recognition for the athletic director's position.

Following the analysis of the data, four themes emerged. The first theme described the struggle Jan experienced in her attempts to legitimize her position as athletic director. The second theme described the diverse perspectives held by the physical education staff concerning interschool athletics. These diverse views were sub-divided into personal views about the role of competitive athletics in the schools and the importance attached to the interschool athletic program. The third theme concerned working relationships in the physical education department. The final theme described the athletic director's relationship with the principal, and his influence on her job.

The athletic director's job at this high school was fraught with difficulty. These difficulties resulted from her association with the physical education

department, where she taught. Subsequently, it was difficult for Jan, as the athletic director, to achieve legitimization and recognition for her administrative position because the staff in the physical education department would not differentiate between her teaching and administrative roles. Furthermore, the staff did not fully cooperate with Jan because she was aggressive and she imposed her philosophy on the program she administered--a philosophy that lacked support from the physical education staff.

Reflections upon the themes provided insight into Jan's most pressing problem--achieving recognition from the physical education staff and the principal for her responsibilities as athletic director. Each theme emerged as a different aspect of this problem, and provided the basis for a final word about school organization for physical education and interschool athletic programs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this length could not have been accomplished without the cooperation and guidance of many people.

I wish to thank Mainstream's principal and all of the physical education staff for their cheerful and friendly acceptance of my presence in their gyms, offices and meeting rooms. In particular, I want to thank "Jan Whitehead," whose humour and capacity for telling a story well made the information in this thesis come alive.

Further, I wish to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Larry Beauchamp and Dr. David Sande, for being on constant "call" when I needed advice and guidance. Their wisdom and experience gave this thesis direction and depth.

Finally, I wish to thank my advisor, Dr. Andrea Borys. Her enthusiastic pursuit of knowledge was a constant inspiration for this work.

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CHAPTER ONE

ARRIVING AT THE QUESTION

> The white rabbit put on his spectacles. "Where shall I begin, please your Majesty?" he asked.
>
> "Begin at the beginning," the King said, very gravely, "and go on till you come to the end: then stop."
>
> Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

Schools and Athletics

Competitive sports have long been regarded as a leveler of class emphasizing achievement through ability alone (Gruneau, 1981). Athletics, especially for young men, have been traditionally "used" as a means of developing school "spirit" and reinforcing liberal educational policy. They have been a focal point for mass identification by students. School team members have acted as visible reinforcements of the meritocratic ethos prevalent in Canadian schools. "Work hard and you'll be a winner." When this belief is viewed critically however, it becomes apparent that athletics do not serve as an equalizer. They play a major role in promoting values necessary for commitment to the prevailing hegemony of stratification present in North American society. Until recently, race, social class, and to some extent, gender were not considered problematic (Lang, 1953; Routledge, 1959; Shepard & Jamerson, 1953).

By the early 1950's, athletics had become one of the ways in which schools promoted the educational values of personal commitment to the group and self sacrifice which are necessary for success in the post industrial revolution society (Spring, 1972; Vanderzwaag, 1975). One of the most clearly articulated statements about school athletics was written by Routledge (1959). He listed the following objectives:

1. to promote school morale ....
2. to provide opportunities for developing desirable recreational interests and skills ....
3. to develop social and democratic growth and maturity ....
4. to develop emotional maturity ....
5. to develop group loyalties ....
6. to provide opportunities for training in leadership, organization and administration.
7. to provide opportunities for the release in socially-approved channels of the physical and emotional energy so prevalent in adolescents.
8. to provide opportunities for individuals to

> obtain satisfaction from success in worthwhile activities which depend more upon special aptitudes than upon general intelligence, which normally is a major factor in determining success in the classroom.
>
> 9. to provide outlets for the relatively few superior performers.
>
> 10. to develop in the students the attitude that education is continuous, resulting from a wide variety of opportunities and is NOT restricted to classroom situations.
>
> (pp. 25-26)

It is important to differentiate between athletics, which is after hours interschool competition with a selected team or individuals, and the physical education class, which is a class-time gymnasium activity session which follows a provincial curriculum. Although many students take physical education classes, it is interschool athletics that have enjoyed a high profile in terms of recognition and money. Often the same people are responsible for both programs. High school boys' competitive athletics in particular have received a great deal of attention from staff and student populations, as well as extended coverage by the media.

By the early 1970's, the trend in physical education objectives was for individuals to develop physical skills for personal benefit. The acquisition of a wide range of physical skills promoted life-long participation in healthful activity and improved the quality of life. Subsequently, competitive athletics were included in some provincial government descriptions of desirable school physical activity (Manitoba Department of Education, 1981; Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1977; Ontario Ministry of Education, 1978). These views are further substantiated by Alberta Education which stated:

> the acquisition and development of physical skills is vital not only for quality living but for the very maintenance of life itself. ...Preparation of new class programs with the objectives of nurturing and expanding the interests and abilities of all pupils in physical skills as they progress through the grades has sharpened curriculum committees' perception of the crucial part played in skills development by activities other than class instruction .... Scrutiny of existing competitive athletics reveals that in some cases the activities reinforce the effects of well planned class programs.
>
> (An Ad Hoc Committee, 1972, p. 1)

This description de-emphasizes the notion that athletics be used to promote and maintain important social values in the schools, such as the promotion of school morale and the development of group loyalties. Instead, interschool athletics (as an extension of the physical education instructional program) is viewed as a means of personal improvement. An individual's participation in group or individual activities is valued as much in terms of the benefits accruing to the individual's own personal development as it is valued for other social benefits (Frey et al., 1983; Manitoba Department of Education, 1981; Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1977; Ontario Ministry of Education, 1978; UNESCO's International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, 1978). For example, the Calgary Board of Education developed a model of the total physical education program which includes interscholastic athletics as a means of reaching the following objectives: physical skill, physical fitness, knowledge and understanding, social skills and attitudes and appreciations (Frey et al., 1983). (See Appendix A.)

The language used in official documents such as the Calgary Board of Education's Curriculum Action Project is deliberately non-sexist, and obscures the actual opportunities available to boys and girls for personal skill development. The language "flattens" the reader's understanding of what educators conceive interschool athletics to be. Often it is difficult to determine the extent of the differences between the boys' and girls' programs. Non-gendered language implies equality between boys and girls, but when budgets and programs are examined carefully, this is not the case (see Appendices A and B).

Today's programs in high school athletics continue to encourage commitment to deeply believed cultural values--loyalty, teamwork, discipline--but the following social and political developments indicate that the role of school athletics may be changing:

1. an increased interest in personal health and fitness and the belief in the personal benefit of physical

activity;

2. an increasing reliance by individual schools on student attendance numbers for budget dollars, coupled with increased independence at the school level for fiscal spending;

3. feminist legal and political action in sport both in and out of schools (Hall & Richardson, 1982);

4. an influx of racial minorities into the schools with a variety of cultural needs and expectations; and

5. a depressed national and provincial economy resulting in financial cutbacks to education.

The interschool athletics program today has developed a dual purpose. The primary purpose is for individuals to strive not necessarily for excellence, but for personal skill improvement. The secondary purpose is to promote social values such as group loyalty, and the ability to work within rules, with others, to achieve a satisfactory performance level (An Ad Hoc Committee, 1972; Frey et al., 1983; Macintosh, 1976; School Physical Activities Programs Committee (CAHPER), 1980; UNESCO's International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, 1978). It is interesting to note that the written objectives of interschool competitive athletics never include winning.

Significance of the Study

With the introduction of school-based or decentralized budgeting in some public school systems, individual schools have created administrative positions that are responsible for an extensive interschool athletic program of co-ed and segregated sport activities. For example, in the River City Public School System, some schools have established a position that can best be described as an athletic director. This person administers the athletic program producing and administering a budget exclusively for interschool athletics, recruiting internal and external coaches for teams and providing communication channels between the program and other bureaucratic organizations in the school.

Although the number of high school athletic directors has steadily increased, few studies have been reported in the literature and none have described the personal experience of being an athletic director. The purpose of this study is to describe the experience of being a female athletic director in an urban high school. A descriptive analysis of the problems and successes experienced by a woman athletic director may help others, with similar administrative designations, to gain a deeper understanding of their own working situations.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to answer the following questions:

1. What is the role of an athletic director in a typical urban high school?

2. How does the athletic director construct her reality in the high school setting?

3. How does the athletic director describe the various situations found in her school setting?

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

> "Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?"
> "That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the Cat.
>
> Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

Athletic programs in today's schools are said to fulfill particular purposes--the improvement of personal skills, and the promotion of commonly accepted social values like group loyalty and the desire to work toward common goals. Competitive athletic programs in schools were not originally considered a useful means of realizing these purposes. Boys' and girls' competitive sport programs each followed different routes in their struggle to be accepted as an integral part of the school's educational program.

Boys' Competitive Athletics

Although competitive games were part of the upper class British boys' schooling, they were not part of the early Canadian and American physical education programs. These programs were often restricted to military drill and calisthetics (Armstrong, 1984; Cosentino & Howell, 1970; Howell & Howell, 1975; Vanderzwaag, 1975). Games were introduced into schools through community clubs and through the influence of college and university sport (Cosentino & Howell, 1970; Davidson, 1975; Howell & Howell, 1975; Paton, 1975). According to Shepard and Jamerson (1953, p. 3), male interschool athletics were introduced into the school system in the following way:

1. initially athletics were sponsored by students with unsympathetic or hostile school administrators and faculty.

2. community assistance was provided to students through coaching and finances, with indifferent or tolerant school administrators.

3. faculty recognition of malpractices resulted in subsequent control and guidance.

4. school administrators accepted interscholastic athletics as an essential part of the total school program.

Control was the key factor involved in the adoption of school competitive sport programs. In the United States, faculty recognized that poorly run programs would be associated with the school because it was their students who were organizing and participating in them, with the help of the community. Subsequently, they allowed athletics into the school to control the abuses and to protect the school reputation. In Britain, the notion of control was different. Competitive sports were added to the private boarding school program as a means of diverting boys who had too much idle time.

> Compulsory sports ... extended the school's control over boys .... Compulsory sports kept boys and schoolmasters on school grounds in the afternoons and made boarding schools more confining and cloistered institutions. They brought a greater sense of order and control and a more middle-class morality to the institution than had existed previously, when boys had been permitted to roam off school property into towns or the countryside (Armstrong, 1984, p. 317).

In addition to the British boarding school customs and American community pressures influencing the introduction of athletics to the Canadian school program, there were two other influences: games were thought to be an outgrowth of play, and public interest was increased in health and hygiene. During the 1880's, educators emphasized the value of play (Montgomery, 1975). Games were based on something enjoyable and familiar to children and as such could be used by schools to teach a spirit of cooperation, competition with honour (that is, obedience to rules and respect for authority figures), and to encourage an adherence to Christian morals (Armstrong, 1984; Bancroft, 1913; McFadden, 1926).

Another factor which influenced the inclusion of school competitive games was an increase in the public interest in science, particularly health and hygiene (Cosentino & Howell, 1970; MacFadden, 1926; Pierce, 1914; Scott, 1951). It was generally believed that in order to be a complete human being, one needed a sound mind in a sound body. Pierce (1914) was particularly eloquent on this subject:

> A well developed physical organization is essential to perfect health .... The cultivation of the intellectual powers has been allowed to supplant physical training to a great extent. The results are abnormally developed brains, delicate forms, sensitive nerves and shortened lives. That the physical and mental systems should be collaterally developed, is a fact generally overlooked by educators .... we do not seek to reproduce in our modern institutions the gymnasium, which was the real foundation of their (classical Greek philosophers') genius (Pierce, 1914, p. 270).

Educators who were proponents of developing the body as the temple of the mind encouraged participation in games as a means of attaining this ideal. This enthusiasm for sport created an atmosphere in which male interschool athletics were able to develop rapidly (Montgomery, 1975, p. 220).

As the boys' athletic programs grew in the schools, problems began to arise. Many educators were concerned about the issues of eligibility and of excessive competition that put winning above all, involved few rather than many, and took students' and teachers' time away from academic work (Devenney, 1953; Kirkpatrick, 1955; Lang, 1953). Scott (1951) details the following problems with boys' high school and college programs in the United States: financial discrepancies, serious and poorly treated injuries of players, unrestrained recruiting of athletics, no eligibility rules, no long range planning, incomplete rules, "officiating, inexpert and generally unreliable, provisions for spectators nonexistent, and gambling openly practiced" (p. 89). The emerging problems of boys' school competitive athletics began to be solved when interschool athletics were adopted as an outgrowth of the class physical education program (Cosentino & Howell, 1970, p. 68), with interschool athletics providing the means for "the growth and development of the pupil as a human being" (Devenney, 1953, p. 35).

Girls' Competitive Athletics

> "Our ever present ideal should be Health and Beauty" (Hill, 1903, p. 6)

Although the girls' competitive athletic programs in Canadian schools did not encounter the same difficulties as the boys', they had their problems too. The acceptable level of female involvement in physical activity has always been very closely tied to more general social attitudes about what is appropriate feminine athletic behavior, as well as beliefs about what females are physically capable of accomplishing. Females who participated in athletics at the turn of the century did so under different conditions than the males. Males were encouraged through competitive athletics to develop the manly attributes of strength, courage, perseverance, self control and loyalty. Females undertook moderate physical activity to maintain their health and they were never allowed to forget that over-enthusiastic activity threatened their femininity and endangered their health. Hill (1903) wrote:

> she may row and run and swim and take part in a hundred athletic exercises without being one whit less a woman, ... but some things she had better leave to men. Fiercely competitive athletics have their dangers for men, but they develop manly strength. For women, their dangers are greater, and the qualities they tend to develop are not womanly. (p. 6)

Excessive competition was inappropriate feminine behavior and excessive activity was dangerous to the female's health were two commonly held notions. These beliefs continued until the twentieth century to have an impact on girls' school athletic programs. Females were forbidden to take part in hockey and football. Instead they were encouraged to take part in figure skating and gymnastics. Eleanor Metheney's landmark research in the early 1960's traced the social origin of the difference between femininity and athletic competence. She was unable to give any reason for the prohibition of women from rough games and contact sports other than it was "a symbolic formulation of socially sanctioned female roles" (p. 21). Helen Lenskyj (1984) states that women in athletics have historically been denied their feminine identity if they competed in activities that were not individual, the activities did not focus attention on appearance, or were activities requiring a public display of force, violence, or aggression.

Notwithstanding these persistent beliefs, Canadian women's sport participation particularly after the First World War (Hall & Richardson, 1982; Cochrane, Hoffman, & Kincaid, 1977) grew for a variety of reasons. Revolutionary changes in women's clothing occurring in the first decades of the new century, allowed greater freedom of movement. After the war, the combined influences of suitable clothing, increased urbanization, more leisure time, and the development and marketing of sport as entertainment (Cochrane et al., 1977), were highly beneficial to the development of women's athletics. Women experienced considerable autonomy in organizing and coaching their own clubs because most men's sport organizations were closed to them.

During this time, Canadian girls' school athletics also grew and benefited from the wide range of clubs and organizations that post school-age girls could join. Unlike the boys' programs, where the focus was on competitive athletics as an end in itself, girls' programs provided sports which could be continued after leaving school (Cochrane et al., 1977).

At the same time that women and girls in Canada were beginning to experience success and recognition for their athletic efforts, women physical educators in the United States were making determined efforts to control the rising levels of competition and aggression in girls' school athletics. Their concern was fueled by the die-hard notion that women's physical limitations made them inferior to men. Accompanying this belief was the argument that excessive competition by women was medically unsound and could interfere with the vital childbearing cycle (Blumenfeld, 1936; Somers, 1936). "Not only were highly competitive sports harmful to the female, they asserted, she could never do as well as men; hence, it was pointless to try" (Hall & Richardson, 1982, p. 35).

In addition to the increasingly vociferous medical argument was the accompanying economic down-turn from prosperity to depression in the 1930's. Rising unemployment was accompanied by the increasingly popular conservative attitude that women in the labour force should revert to being housewives and mothers, and leave the jobs to the men. The reactionary attitude that some games were more 'feminine' than others became popular and as a result, women's participation in many competitive sports and activities decreased.

Further, the stereotype of women as housewives and mothers persisted well into the 1960's in Canada. Women at most participated in "feminine" types of activities such as figure skating and gymnastics. These attitudes had extensive and prolonged effects on school programs. "[Girls'] physical education emphasized moderate fitness, low level competition, intramural as opposed to inter-school sport and a long list of restricted sports which at some schools even involved track and field" (Cochrane et al., 1977, p. 57).

As a result of the economic downturn and the stereotyping of women, schools, first in the United States and later in parts of Canada, discouraged girls' interscholastic competitions in favor of 'play days' (Fretwell, 1931). In Western Canada, athletics were reduced, but not banned (Cochrane et al., 1977, p. 57). A number of team sports, such as basketball, continued to be played with modified 'girls' rules' which restricted movement on the court and emphasized intra-team cooperation over interteam competition. The philosophy of "A game for every girl, and a girl for every game" (Hall & Richardson, 1982, p. 35) was widely endorsed.

On the other hand, the boys' school athletic program did not experience the same restrictions. In fact, the rise in public interest in professional sport after the Second World War increased opportunities for boys to play in the community as well as in school. By the mid 1950's, minor hockey, little league baseball and age-group football provided ample opportunities for young boys to play. Comparable opportunities simply did not exist for girls (Cochrane et al., 1977, p. 57).

It was not until the 1970's that greater numbers of women became involved in athletics as athletes, teachers, coaches and administrators. An increased interest in personal physical fitness, the return of women to the work force, and the persistent efforts of the women's movement have all contributed to the change (Boutillier & San Giovanni, 1983; Cochrane et al., 1977; Hall & Richardson, 1982).

These historical events provide the basis for understanding the pressures and prejudices accompanying the inclusion of school competitive athletics.

Department Heads as Middle Managers

Department heads are called the "middle managers" in the educational bureaucratic system (Bloomer, 1980; Davies, 1983) because it is through them that communication occurs between the senior administration and the staff. In addition to providing a liaison for communication, department heads are often concerned with budget or resource management and with their department's staff and student concerns. Bloomer (1980) concludes that a department head's role includes four areas: communication, staffing and pupils, curriculum planning and implementation, and budget or resource management.

Communication functions are divided into formal and informal tasks. Formal tasks which facilitate communication include the responsibility for holding staff or department meetings (Bloomer, 1980; Lambert, 1975). Informal communication, conversation, and the personal characteristics of commitment, energy and approachability are also judged to be essential for a department head (Howson & Woolnough, 1982).

A second role-function involves the appointment of staff to their department, although Lambert (1975) points out that many department heads are reluctant to include staff evaluation as a part of that role function.

There is consensus among researchers (Bloomer, 1982; Davies, 1983; Howson & Woolnough, 1982; Lambert, 1975) that resource management is an important area of the department head's role function, and that budget management is most effective for the head when the process is participatory, consensual and accompanied by a sense of involvement in the decision-making process.

Because department heads are considered to be leaders within the school's organizational system, leadership styles have been closely studied to determine which is most effective. Howson and Woolnough (1982) found that their "democratic" model was more favoured by supervisors and department heads than their "control" model. The former model was based on the notion that the department head was "the coordinator of a group of equals" (p. 41) while the control model described the department head as the ultimate decision-maker, and the leader in matters of department policy.

Although increased participation in decision-making in the budget area may lead to "improved communication, better quality decision-making, and improved staff motivation" (Davies, 1983, p. 173). Bloomer (1980) cautions that formal training for management responsibilities in the schools is rare; and that "people are promoted on the strength of their expertise in one kind of work (teaching) to posts involving another kind of work (management)" (p. 83). That is, although there are benefits to be found in increased participation by department heads in the decision-making process, these benefits may not be realized if the manager is not adequately trained to recognize these possibilities and responsibilities.

In conclusion, the role functions of department heads are often loosely defined. Marland (1975) suggests that the role of the middle manager is crucial to the successful operation of the comprehensive secondary school although he doubts that it is possible for definitions of the role to be agreed upon between schools. Each school's program has different individuals involved, and special demands and responsiblities as a result. Marland (1975) concludes that it is therefore necessary for each school to design specific job descriptions for the department heads in the school.

Imbalance in Male/Female Leadership Positions

There is a growing body of research supporting the assertions by women educators that entrance and acceptance in the field of educational administration presents problems unique to women. Complex historical, economic and social factors have contributed to a situation where the majority of teachers are women, and the overwhelming majority of supervisors are men (Apple, 1983; Biklen, 1980). Both female and male educators have begun to question this imbalance, and to study with greater awareness and caution the dynamics that contribute to the prevailing social beliefs about women and leadership.

Apple (1983) contends that elementary teaching (in particular) became women's work because men left, for the following reasons:

1. Teaching became less a part-time occupation that could be combined with farming or other activities.

2. Certification standards rose, and the school year

lengthened, but salaries were still inadequate to support a family.

3. As schooling became more formal, teachers began to lose their autonomy in the classroom, a situation men disliked.

The men who stayed in education left the classroom. As school systems became larger, more formal and bureaucratized, men moved into management positions.

The continuing reluctance of the public to allow women to assume administrative and supervisory positions in education is based on a combination of social and economic factors. Sex-role stereotyping labeled women as being less competitive and aggressive about promotion, and more amenable to supervision. Women were considered more nurturent than men--teaching prepared women for marriage and helped to fulfill their maternal destiny (Apple, 1983; Biklen, 1980; Connoly, 1980; Spillman, Spillman, & Reinking, 1981).

Economically, women viewed teaching as a means of upward mobility and as an attractive alternative to other forms of occupation available to them, usually factory or domestic service (Apple, 1983; Biklen, 1980).

Present day social scientists continue to use these commonly held assumptions about women to explain why there are few qualified women candidates for leadership positions in education. Personality theories that contrast male and female traits are offered as reasons for why women are unsuccessful in leadership positions. Thus, in addition to the assumed individual traits women have such as lack of competitiveness and aggression, and strong nurturent desires, studies of the characteristics of women working in groups describe their interactions as social-emotional rather than dominant, and their verbal input to the group as low. Finally, studies indicate that women are usually assigned lower status than men, and do not acquire status while working in the group (Connoly, 1980; Spillman et al., 1981).

These attitudes and beliefs about women's limitations and capabilities have led to present day discrimination against women who wish to work in education's administrative and supervisory positions. For example, the current trend to develop schools as modern corporations has caused women to be excluded from managerial positions because historically, women were excluded from similar positions in business (Apple, 1983; Biklen, 1980). "As schooling becomes more of a business, those in administrative positions turn to their image of effective business managers: business men" (Biklen, 1980, p. 11).

Finally, there are particular constraints that women in educational leadership experience because they are women (Biklen, 1980). Family constraints consist of finding a comfortable or at least working balance between the responsibilities of maintaining a home and furthering a career. "The nature of one's family certainly plays a role in determining the degree of difficulty ... because one's femininity is so closely related to motherhood in this society, how one performs as a mother is socially evaluated along with one's professional success" (Biklen, 1980, pp. 13-14).

Further, women aspiring to or entering into administrative positions often experience only marginal acceptance by males already occupying managerial positions. These women are often regarded as tokens, and representative of all women. Finally, women must find ways of dealing with personal doubt and conflict when they assume jobs that run counter to accepted social definitions of femininity.

Women in Athletic Administration

Women who have attempted to gain entrance to school athletic administration have experienced no more success in overcoming the restraints imposed by cultural stereotypes than their associates in other educational fields. If anything, the constraints of marginality and personal doubt experienced by other women administrators may be greater for women working in the very masculine field of competitive sport (Sabo & Runfola, 1980).

Heinkel (1979) studied the actual and preferred tasks performed by women who were the supervisors of girls' athletics (a position subordinate to men who were invariably the school's athletic director) in Wisconsin high schools, just prior to the implementation of the Title IX legislation. She found that the women had no decision-making responsibility, that they did not indicate a desire for more, and that they preferred to work under a supervisor at tasks that were routine, repetitive and carried little responsibility. Heinkel concluded that the women supervisors did not desire greater control of the girls' athletic programs.

Since the implementation of the Title IX legislation in 1979, in the United States, the state of Florida has seen only a 1.8% gain in the number of high school women athletic directors--an increase in ratio from 233 men and four women to 231 men and 19 women (Pastore & Whidden, 1983). A similar trend is reflected at the American college level where men direct women's athletics at 49% of the 971 institutions affiliated with the AIAW (Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women) (Lenskyj, 1985).

In Canada, where there is no legislation similar to Title IX, the majority of university athletic administrators are male (75%) (Hall & Richardson, 1982). Under provincial human rights codes, discrimination in employment on the basis of sex is prohibited.

Summary

A brief overview of historical events concerning the introduction of first boys, then girls athletics into the school was given in the first part of this chapter. Competitive athletics for girls and women went through periods of popularity and set-backs before and after the depression of the 1930's. Economics, and persistent stereotypes about their inferior physical capabilities and what activities could be considered appropriate feminine behavior hindered female school and community athletic programs until well into the twentieth century.

It is hoped that the brief synopsis of the different ways in which boys' and girls' athletics were introduced into the school offered in the opening portion of this section will provide a foundation for understanding the problems and challenges that arise in the urban high school athletic department today.

The remainder of this section concentrated on the special problems experienced by women in educational administration, and examined historical, social and economic factors that combined to create these problems. It was concluded that women in positions of educational leadership today must deal with discrimination resulting from persistent cultural stereotypes regarding their ability to achieve at tasks requiring aggression and domination. Further, they must cope with familial, marginal and personal constraints in their attempts to gain recognition and acceptance in the administrative workforce.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

> It sounded an excellent plan, no doubt, and very neatly and simply arranged: the only difficulty was, that she had not the smallest idea of how to set about it; ...
>
> Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

The qualitative method of inquiry is characterized by a situational orientation that includes the researcher as part of that setting "... researchers go to the particular setting under study because they are concerned with context. They feel that action can best be understood when it is observed in the setting in which it occurs" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 27). This method also emphasizes that the past experiences of the researcher often contribute in a very direct way to the study (Lofland & Lofland, 1984). The following characteristics describe this type of research:

1. Research which has the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher is the instrument.
2. Research which is descriptive.
3. Researchers are concerned with process rather than

simply with outcomes or products.

4. Researchers tend to analyze their data inductively.
5. "Meaning" is of essential concern.

(Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, pp. 27-29)

Ethnography

The form of qualitative research selected for this study was ethnography. Wolcott (1985) argues that a descriptive study that does not take into account a concern for cultural interpretation can not be described as "ethnographic." More specifically, he states that "The purpose of ethnographic research is to describe and interpret cultural behavior" (p. 190). It is not enough to simply describe the setting and the people in the group under study. Some meaning must be attributed to the concepts, actions, beliefs and organizational principles the ethnographer has observed in the context of his or her dealings with the group. Culture is not something that can be "discovered," it must be inferred from what the group members under study do, and then assigned to that group by the researcher.

The fundamental assumption underlying the ethnographic research approach is that the researcher can not separate him/her self from the research process (Smith & Heshusius, 1986). The impersonal objectivity and reliance on reliability and validity found in empirical or rational research can not be mirrored in naturalistic or qualitative inquiry. Qualitative inquiry is "based on the point that reality is made rather than found" (Smith & Heshusius, 1986, p. 11).

Lutz and Ramsey (1974) suggest that previous lived events become the basis for a "working hypothesis" that guide the study:

> These hypotheses are generated partly out of prior knowledge of the system being studied, partly from first observations, and partly due to conceptual and theoretical positions held by the researcher. It is not likely that anyone is totally free of concepts which predispose him to see certain things. If one is studying education, he will have had some degree of experience with that system. (Lutz & Ramsey, 1974, p.6)

Wolcott (1985) argues that school ethnography can be hampered by the circumstance that people most interested in doing school based research are people who have invested the greater part of their lives in schools. It may be difficult for them to establish a comparative basis from which to identify differences as another's "culture." However, "the disadvantages of being an insider, totally familiar with and at home in schools, may be more than compensated for by the understanding a perceptive inside researcher can bring" (Wolcott, 1985, p. 199).

This study describes the life of a woman high school teacher in her role as athletic director in the milieu of a particular urban high school. The ways in which I came to understand the events observed were influenced in part by my past experiences, and in part by the various people themselves, as I observed them working with each other, and as they conversed with me during the school day. Essentially, my role as researcher was to act as an unbiased collector of "raw material," to collect and examine documents, to record observations of events and interactions, to audiotape conversations and interviews, and then to make sense of the data gathered. The interpretation and not the raw material was to be the study.

Fundamental philosophical differences exist between the qualitative and quantitative research methodologies (Smith & Heshusius, 1986). To understand the meaning of the term 'valid' it is necessary to understand how truth is defined (p. 8). For the qualitative method, truth is defined as correspondence--results must reflect how things really are in the world. For qualitative research, reality is mind-dependent, that is, within the mind of the individual and truth results when a description is matched to other descriptions. Validity is assigned to an interpretation that one shares with another interpreter.

> Quantitative inquiry aspires to certitude, to the idea that our descriptions can match actual conditions in the world and that we can know when this matching occurs and when it does not. This certitude is achieved primarily through an

> adherence to proper techniques. For the qualitative perspective, inquiry is a never-ending process of interpreting the interpretations of others. All that can be done is to match descriptions to other descriptions, choosing to honor some as valid because they "make sense," given one's interests and purposes. There is no rule book of procedures to follow (Smith & Heshusius, 1986, p. 9).

The interpretations made of the experiences that one woman shared with me may be considered trustworthy if they are meaningful for others. Does my description of one woman athletic director have meaning for other teacher/coaches? The results will be tested by the sense others make of the findings.

School Selection and Entry

Mainstream high school was initially chosen because there had been a low staff turnover rate among people involved in physical education and athletics. The athletic director had been in the school for four years, and all of the other physical education teacher/coaches had been there anywhere from three to 15 years. I knew that the athletic director had originally been hired to develop the interschool athletics program, and I felt that a stable staff would enable the program to develop and grow with some consistency. Further, the school offered a broad variety of athletic experiences, and did not pour all of its resources into one or two sports. This 'balance' in activities would provide a sound basis for observing the administration of an athletic program that included boys' and girls' sports, junior and senior teams and "major" and "minor" sports.

I was grateful to the principal, who, at my initial request allowed me immediate access to his school, and Jan Whitehead, the athletic director, who agreed to play a major role in my study.

It was an unavoidable circumstance that I should know all of the physical education staff at the onset of the study. The school system that includes Mainstream is small enough for coaches to become acquainted over time. This turned out to be a very positive aspect of the study. Because I was familiar to them as a coach, all of the physical education staff quickly became accustomed to "seeing me around," and were friendly, candid, and cooperative from my initial visits.

I began visiting this school in September, 1985, and continued until June, 1986. During this time I spent from four to six hours a week in the school. For the first two months, I was a silent observer, noting the ways in which I saw the staff interact with each other, with their teams and with other staff and administrators. The purpose of this observation period was to familiarize myself with the physical education department staff, and to give them time to become accustomed to my presence. As time went on, my role changed from observer, to conversationalist and interviewer. That is, I began by observing team practices and staff meetings, sitting in on coffee breaks and lunch, and tape recording (with the staff's permission) conversations and interviews. The observations were recorded in the form of descriptive field notes and the interviews and conversations were transcribed from the audio tape.

It did not take very long to feel 'at home' in the school, and to feel accepted by the staff, particularly Jan. She saved documents for me, informed me of upcoming meetings, introduced me to other staff, related stories and anecdotes about events that had occurred, and did not hesitate to give me her opinions of social and business situations as they occurred during the year. Once the initial entry was accomplished, the "raw data" was collected over the next six months in a number of ways.

Data Sources

A variety of data sources ~~served as the foundation~~ for this study. Data were collected in order to provide a broad base of information which gave depth and colour to my descriptions, and became the basis for my understanding Jan and her work at Mainstream high school.

There were three main sources of data utilized in the study: official documents, observation and conversations and interviews. A fourth source, a journal that was occasionally referred to, is briefly described. The purposes for utilizing these sources are discussed in the following section.

Official Documents

Questions about organization and administration arose during the course of the study which were clarified by studying official school documents. It should be noted that these documents, written by school officials, disclosed useful information about the school. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) suggest three kinds of official documents which can lead to a better understanding of how a program is defined by people: internal documents such as memos and minutes; external communications such as newsletters, handbooks and programs; and student records and personal files. (p. 100)

Many of the documents that I gathered were "internal documents." I examined school memos and minutes to learn about the organization of the school. I added to these, written copies of job descriptions for Jan and for the Physical Education teachers' aide, Susan, so that I knew what the official parameters of Jan's job were (see Appendix C). In addition, I gathered records of

Mainstream's athletic budgets for the last two years, of system wide athletic expenditures, and a comparison of expenditures between Mainstream and the rest of the system (see Appendix D). "Budget" is a very important item in the organization of any school. The decisions made by administrators for the allocation of money can be the single most influential factor in the growth or reduction in the size of a program. These changes may affect staffing, and changes in staff members can affect the variety and quality of the activities any program can offer. Moreover, the decision making power allotted to school administrators at any level is most clearly demonstrated in the ways in which financial planning and management is carried out in the school.

Observation

In addition to collecting and examining school documents, I recorded observations as field notes. I began as a silent observer to familiarize myself with the people, the places and the routines that made up the everyday school milieu at Mainstream (see Appendix F). Spradley (1980) describes the dual purposes of participant observation as: "(1) to engage in activities appropriate to the situation and (2) to observe the activities, people and physical aspects of the situation." (p.54) I worked primarily in the latter situation attending practices, games and meetings as an observer.

Initially I watched practices and games to record the interactions of the players as they worked with each other; the coach, as he or she directed the players; and the spectators, as they drifted in and out of the gym during games and practices. One coach found it difficult to understand initially that I was there to unobtrusively watch and describe, not evaluate. For example, he came over to my corner of the gym after every drill change to ask "if I understood what the boys are doing now?"

Seemingly inconsequential observations sometimes resulted in a better understanding, for me, of the meaning coaches and players attach to particular sports. I wrote a description of the uniforms players wore for games, and came to realize that there were some activities the players/coaches considered to be more important than others. That is, one sport may be considered 'major' for girls and 'minor' for boys. For example, the senior boys volleyball team wore uniforms that appeared to be a motley collection of cast-offs, while the girls' looked new and neat. When I questioned one of the senior girls about this, she commented first that even though both sets of uniforms were bought at the same time, "Guys don't look after their uniforms." The external coach for junior girls' volleyball commented:

> Volleyball is not a priority at that school. I sometimes get the impression that volleyball's a sport we get through to go to basketball.

The senior girls' volleyball team player added that

> ... students can tell you when every senior boys' basketball game is. They get a lot of fans for those. I'm sure a lot of people don't even know we have senior boys' volleyball -- there's football on at the same time.

A simple observation about game uniforms enabled me to realize that not all sports were regarded as equal at Mainstream.

In addition, boys and girls did not always classify the same sport in the same way. Boys' volleyball had to compete with football and basketball for spectators and players, but girls' volleyball was the only "major" sport offered for the girls at that time. Their games attracted more spectators and the players were more conscious of their appearance and attitude.

> Senior girls' player: You should have seen our guys' team. They had a bad attitude. Once, when they were losing, the bench people got up and went to the locker-room and changed and came down with their jackets and everything.
>
> Ellen: Did their coach send them?
>
> Senior player: He wasn't there that day ... a sub was coaching. Ummm. Holy Smokes! If we ever did that!? That would be the end of the team for the year!

Observations, or field notes such as these led me to understand that there were many subtle perspectives to Jan's job. I began to wonder about the tactics she would have to use to work with coaches who perceived their sport as major and how she managed the time, space and financial demands these perceptions could create.

Conversations and Interview

As the study progressed, and I became more familiar with the school's routines, I began to tape-record and transcribe informal conversations and formal interviews with Jan and other members of the physical education department. During these conversations, Jan described past episodes she had been involved in with other members of the physical education department, or the administration, that affected her job as athletic director. She kept me apprised of new occurrences arising from past events. She related school gossip about students, teachers and administrators. She described personal impressions about other members of the department, and related arguments and cooperative efforts they had all been involved in over the time she had been at Mainstream.

Lofland and Lofland (1984) describe "intensive interviewing" or "unstructured interviewing" as "... a guided conversation whose goal is to elicit from the interviewee rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis" (p. 12). Agar (1980) refers to this as "experience near" concepts. "I want to learn how informants interpret the world through which they move" (p. 80).

The major source of raw material for this study was informal conversations and formal interviews, with Jan Whitehead, the other people in physical education, and the principal. Each conversation and interview was audio-taped and transcribed, and each person involved received a written copy of his or her transcribed tape, and was given the opportunity to expand or elaborate on it. In the end I had collected 53 pages of typewritten transcribed conversation, most of it with Jan. In addition, I also had 52 typewritten pages of formal interview transcriptions, half of it with Jan, and half with the physical education staff and the principal.

It quickly became apparent to me that Jan used our conversations as a place to release tension when she encountered problems.

> Jan: (laughs) I've had a bad couple of days. No, I haven't. Friday, I was so annoyed Friday.

Usually a conversation that started like this led directly into a description of situations that were causing conflicts and problems in interschool athletics. Jan had no reservations about talking with a tape recorder present and was forthright and candid in her comments. She did not once contradict herself in all the pages of conversation and interviews that I transcribed.

I became a sounding board for Jan where she could check for confirmation about situations she perceived to be contradictory or frustrating, although I did not attempt to change her opinion, or alter her perception of any event she described to me. I listened, and attempted to be supportive, but non-committal. Also, she could, on occasion, feel sorry for herself without worrying about how the people she worked with would react. In the first case, our conversation would go like this:

> Jan: (describing an interchange between Jan and John, the head track and field coach regarding practice times) .... So he said, "I want you to go Tuesday, Thursday at lunch--jumps."
>
> Okay, ... didn't have hardly anybody out there--there wouldn't be anybody there. So I'm getting frustrated. Then I find out he's running relay practices. Well, who jumps?
>
> Ellen: (laughing) All the relay runners.
>
> Jan: Well sprinters jump don't they?
>
> Ellen: Of course they do.

Or sometimes she simply needed a shoulder to cry on:

> For four years this has been going on, and in four years these people have done a good job of eroding my self-confidence. They really have. One person in particular. The four of them have done not a bad job. ... They think only for themselves .... You know, for the longest time I believed it was me.

Wolcott (1985) says that "data and interpretation evolve together, each informing the other" (p. 189). As my conversations with Jan continued and were transcribed, and as I continued with observations of the program in action, I was able to develop interview questions which focused the information Jan gave me on particular aspects of Mainstream's interschool athletic program. In turn, data from interviews, conversations and observations opened new components of the program for inspection and interpretation. The process of data collection was dialectic rather than linear, concurrent rather than sequential (Agar, 1980; Wolcott, 1985).

But it was more often the conversations we had together that most vividly conveyed to me the feelings of intense involvement--the frustration, anger, humour and satisfaction Jan experienced in her job.

> I like to be challenged that way. I like to say that I've done a job and was able to carry it through, and I think I've done a half-decent job at that school.

Journal Entries

I began keeping a journal when I was still debating with myself about what questions I wanted to explore, however, I do not consider it to be a formal source of data for the study. Although the entries were usually thoughtful and analytic, they were also sporadic, and did not attempt to systematically follow or comment on the collection of the other data as it occurred. I continued to keep a journal as the topic became more focused and I was able to begin preliminary research into the questions at the school (see Appendix E). It became a place for me to document my own thoughts about observations I made during my visits to the school, and for ideas, questions and connections that occurred to me at other times. It became a reference point in helping to determine the direction of the study.

Data Collection and Analysis

> Like the color of my skin,
> Or the day that I grow old;
> My life is made of patterns
> That can scarcely be controlled.
>
> "Patterns" Paul Simon

Since the purpose of this thesis was to describe the life Jan experiences at Mainstream High, data were gathered to answer questions concerning: 1) the role of the athletic director; 2) the way she describes the situations in the school; and 3) the ways in which she sees herself. This reality is composed of a myriad of actions, interactions and reactions that were often observable, and usually verbally transmitted. During the course of the research I recorded many instances and episodes which eventually merged to form recognizable patterns in the structure of Jan's time at school. On a metaphorical level, one could describe the patterns as a rich and colourful weaving. The strands, or themes, emerged from Jan's anecdotes, opinions and accounts, as well as the comments and experiences other members of the physical education department and the Mainstream staff shared with me. The colours are enhanced and focused by my own observations and reflections, and the texture is reinforced by the documentation.

As the transcriptions were collected, I analyzed them for preliminary themes--particular interactions or episodes that seemed to happen again and again, regardless of the circumstances. For example, Jan's position as athletic director meant that she was responsible for administering a budget she had developed for the athletic department, and coordinating facilities for team practices. During our conversations, she described to me repeated incidents where members of the physical education department either did not consult with her, or ignored her in their efforts to get money and facilities for their own programs.

An initial analysis of the data (as it was collected) suggested an emerging theme that could be described as circumvention--the practice other members of the department had of going around Jan to achieve their own ends. This preliminary analysis directed the more formal interview questions to this particular topic, and additional information was gathered.

It took a great deal of time, thoughtful consideration and a little guesswork to arrive at the final themes. In fact, for me, the themes "evolved" twice. Initially, I tried to make the collected data fit particular categories I had visualized early in the study. Transcripts were photocopied, cut out and grouped together to form, for example a 'negotiation' theme, or a 'circumvention' theme. At first, however, I did not let the transcripts speak to me, and I found myself forcing the results to fit the headings I had created.

As a result, I began again. This time I listened to what the transcripts were saying. Moreover, I examined the official documents which provided a description of the school organization and the athletic director's job (see Appendix C). With the information extracted from an intensive review of the transcribed material and with my own past experience in school competitive athletic programs merging with my observations, I began to write a description of the athletic directors mileux at Mainstream as I had come to understand it. The first theme to emerge from the blending of personal experience, documents, transcriptions, and observations concerned the constant struggle Jan was involved in with the physical education staff and principal to achieve legitimacy for her position. Although this information was gathered over time during the data collection process, I came to realize that a collection of information regarding how and why the position was created was necessary to successfully understand the data regarding the problems Jan encountered in legitimizing her position as the athletic director in the school. This historical information emerged to become one theme.

In all, four themes evolved from the collected verbal and visual description of the role Jan plays at Mainstream. I have thematized the data into the following categories: The Struggle for Recognition as Athletic Director, Perspectives, Relationships, and Organizational Structure. These themes represent the reality on which Jan structures her existence. They illustrate how she relates to other organizational units in the school, and how she attempts to establish credibility.

Each theme is one chapter. They are introduced and related as fully as possible in the words of the members of the setting and particularly Jan, the key informant. The trustworthiness for this study lies not only in Jan's words as they are transcribed, but in the meanings each of us attributed to the experiences she shared with me. The basis of my understanding was the interpretation I gave to stories as they were related to me. The sense I made of this made it possible for the themes to emerge--to become the patterns of the study. The credibility of the study lies in the meanings others may make of this interpretation. Through this process of verbal sharing and interpretation, readers will find themselves able to experience Jan's life at Mainstream school.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SETTING

> "That's right!" shouted the Queen. "Can you play croquet?"
>
> The soldiers were silent and looked at Alice, as the question was evidently meant for her.
>
> "Yes!" shouted Alice.
>
> "Come on then!" roared the Queen, and Alice joined the procession, wondering very much what would happen next.
>
> Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the context of the school, and the people who became associated with this study. Jan Whitehead, the athletic director, is the central figure in this study. Her daily interactions with the people in physical education, with other teachers, with the teacher's aide, and with administrators are the basis of the reality that she experiences. Her descriptions of the personal characteristics, motivations, and actions of the others that she works with give life and vitality to my research notes and depth to my own observations.

River City School System

River City has, in the last thirty years, experienced tremendous growth. The post-war 'baby boom' and the discovery of oil were two critical factors in the city's expansion. During the thirty-five year period from 1950 to 1985, River City built eleven composite high schools, one technical high scool, and reopened the original South River high school as an exclusively academically oriented high school.

Formally organized athletics have been an integral part of the River City public school system since 1893 (Payne, 1980, p. 24), when the first district school soccer championship took place between River City and South River. Since then, inter-school athletics have grown from four league activities for boys in 1908--basketball, baseball, football and hockey (Payne, 1980, p. 35), to 35 league activities in 1985 for a variety of boys', girls' and co-ed teams.

The rapid and extensive growth of River City's educational system has led to a similar expansion of the administrative apparatus used for organization. Teacher numbers escalated into the hundreds as students numbered into the thousands, and the cost of education rose into the millions. Educational administrators turned more and more to management systems developed by private enterprise, with the intention of developing clear communication models and cost efficient programs. School systems have become corporate entities unto themselves--publicly funded organizations using profit-oriented management systems to administer their educational "business."

Mainstream Composite High School

Mainstream School is located in a lower middle to middle class socio-economic district of River City. The school's population (1700 students) has remained relatively stable over the past five years. The school has a varied ethnic population including black, white, Asian and East Indian students.

The school is a large concrete and brick building that shares its grounds with a junior high school. In the spring of 1985, Mainstream made a concerted effort to upgrade its landscaping and improve its exterior appearance, but there always seems to be a litter of papers, pop-cans, and cigarette butts near the entrances. Students lounge outside during class breaks when the weather is good and just inside the doors when the weather is bad.

The entrances closest to the gymnasiums open from the main street and the staff parking lot onto "the rotunda," which is a large, enclosed space between the main body of the school and the gymnasium and locker room area. In the middle of this area, which is approximately 25 feet by 25 feet, is a sunken square which is two or three steps lower than the main hallway. This space is well lit by large windows and glass doors and serves as a casual and comfortable meeting place for students. At noon and after school the rotunda is often populated with groups of boys and girls waiting for intramural or interschool activities to begin. It is also used as a practice area by the cheerleading team.

The remainder of the building contains two levels of classrooms and labs, vocational work shops, staff areas, a cafeteria, and two gymnasiums, with adjoining locker and equipment rooms and separate offices for the men and women staff.

The other athletic facility within the school is a weight room, with a wrestling mat, two universal machines, and an untidy assortment of free weights. There is a public recreation complex with an enclosed rink and leisure pool located on the large playing fields adjacent to the school.

A Community School

From its inception, Mainstream was organized as a community school with an on-going liaison between school and community groups. For at least five years, the school-community organization has been formalized through a government charter which sets out guidelines and provides money. Part of the grant is used to pay for a full-time school-community advisor, whose office is located in the school. In addition, the grant subsidizes projects organized between the school and the neighborhood. A community-school advisory council has been formed, which is chaired by the advisor, and which is comprised of representative members of the many groups involved in school-community projects--parents, the city parks and recreation department, day care, a gymnastics club, and so on.

Athletics and Physical Education

Subjects and school activities are divided into departments, with some teachers carrying over-lapping duties. At Mainstream, athletics and physical education are organized into two separate departments. This development occurred over time in response to a school philosophy that viewed athletics as a school need rather than as the exclusive province of physical education.

The department of athletics is closely related to the physical education department, and although all of the physical education teachers at Mainstream coach at least one interschool sport at the senior level, there is a division between athletics and physical education at this school that is more than simply a philosophical distinction between school and department needs. The Physical Education Department Head and Athletic Director have different responsibilities, prepare different budgets and work through separate lines of communication. The structures for these departments are linked only through their common activities, and the people who teach physical education and coach must remember that they work through both, even though they may perceive them to be very similar.

The Athletics Program

The interschool athletics program at Mainstream consists of 25 junior and senior team and individual activities. One half of the coaches are drawn from the community and surrounding junior high schools. The remainder of the coaching staff includes teachers or physical education staff within the school. Most of the high profile or "major" senior team sports (boys' football, boys' and girls' basketball and boys' soccer) are coached by the physical education staff. Other teachers in the school and community members most often coach junior teams or minor sports (as badminton, golf and gymnastics). The school has experienced success in a variety of sport activities. This year, three of the four basketball teams won the city championships, (junior boys were third) and the senior boys' team won the provincial championship.

The Participants

> There ought to be a book written about me, that there ought! And when I grow up, I'll write one ...
>
> Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

The participants described in this study provide another thread in its fabric. Personalities emerging from the text of the transcripts are an integral part of the themes. Jan's description is drawn from my own previous associations with her, from my observations, and from a mix of comments and statements Jan made about herself and others. The others are the people Jan spends every working day with, and she has come to perceive them in particular ways.

Their personalities grew for me through Jan's eyes, and my interpretation of personal interactions that occurred within the department was made in terms of these perceptions. I did, however, contribute to these character sketches by synthesizing the comments and statements the coaches made about each other, and blending them with the portraits that grew from Jan through me. In addition to the members of the physical education staff, two personalities that contributed in different ways to the study include Susan, the physical education teachers' aide, and Jim Smith, the principal.

Jan Whitehead

Jan has been teaching for sixteen years. She became athletic director at Mainstream four years ago. A year and a half later she left for a 10 month maternity leave. During the time that she was gone, a succession of people temporarily filled her administrative position. She has been back on the job for the last year and a half.

Jan teaches four grade 10 girls' physical education classes, coaches senior girls' volleyball in the fall, and assists with track and field in the spring. She receives one period a day as time off to prepare for coaching and to manage the athletics program. Her responsibilities as athletic director include recruitment of coaches for teams, the assignment of gyms for practice, and the development and administration of a budget for inter-school athletic programs. (See Appendix D.)

Jan's experience as an athletic director is shaped by her personality and by her daily interactions with the physical education teachers. She is the only member of the department to have a graduate degree (M.A. in Physical Education Administration). She shares an office with

Donna, the other woman physical education teacher, and other than the subject they teach, they have few interests in common, and rarely socialize together outside of class. For the most part, Jan spends her free time with teachers outside of physical education. She is a gregarious individual who loves to talk. She is reflective, opinionated and humorous, and her comments are influenced by a strong commitment to teaching as a profession.

> I have firmly believed, and I guess it's because I'm the old school--I believe in our profession. I believe that if you do well in your profession then the accolades will come to you.

She holds no illusions about most of the physical education staff, and feels that regardless of what they say, the commitment they display toward teaching originates more from a desire for self-advancement than from a commitment to the profession.

> They don't really care about phys. ed. as phys. ed. They don't. If it's good for them and it's going to get them somewhere, then they're gung-ho on it if it means it's going to do anything for them.

She is an organizer, and is most comfortable working within well-defined boundaries. She has a thorough understanding of her adminstrative responsibilities, and is meticulous about following appropriate lines of communication. As this conversation with her vice-principal illustrates, she is frustrated and annoyed when members of the physical education department by-pass her in order to achieve their own ends as coaches.

> Well, I'm sick and tired of this .... He said, "You mean it's happening ..." I said, "Of course, I'm being circumvented all the time. I have been for years. But it's only gotten really bad since I came from my maternity leave. He says, "You mean the phys. ed. staff:" I said, "Yes, I mean the phys. ed. staff!"

Because she does not believe the staff are committed to teaching for anything other than their own ends, Jan cannot accept their assurances that they are simply trying to do their best for the students they coach. Rather, she feels that the physical education staff uses their concern for the students as an excuse to avoid getting involved in work they feel is time consuming, restrictive and ultimately unnecessary.

> ... Paul says, "I'm here for the kids." That's why I was so frustrated my first year here, 'cause Paul is not a paper person.

When I commented:

> Well, so it's not a case that the people in phys. ed. don't understand what the rules are. They know very well what the lines of communication are.

Jan replied:

> Oh sure. They've always known what the rules are. They've just done their own thing. But honest to God they don't realize there has to be paper stuff somewhere .... You can't just be dishing out money.

Jan is sensitive to the fact that she does not socialize very much with the rest of the physical education staff. She realized that this results in a loss of communication with the others.

> Besides, I don't socialize a lot with them. ... department meetings (P.E.) were in the evenings from 5:00 'til 10:00. I was always *the* first one to leave. Everybody would stay and drink into oblivion ... and to tell you the truth I don't *want* to do that very often. Whereas, you see, it makes a big difference to these guys.

Although these conversations indicate that there are such irrevocable differences between Jan and the people in physical education that it is impossible for her to be effective in her job, this is not the case. The lack of communication has a positive side. Jan does not share many of her opinions with the physical education staff, and they are usually unaware that she is frustrated. She realizes also, that the problems she encounters are as much a product of the organizational structure of the school as they are of personality differences.

Donna Beauvert

Donna is the other woman physical education teacher. She is a former junior high teacher who came to Mainstream the same year as Jan. She is personable, friendly, talkative and full of energy. She teaches three tenth grade girls' physical education classes and a coed eleventh grade class. She coordinates the intramural program and is coaching the senior girls' basketball team for the first time this year. Donna has worked hard to develop the intramural program in the four years she has been at the school. Its success is widely acknowledged both inside and outside of the school, but as Donna says:

> ...I feel like, when people talk to me, it's always about intramurals. It's not like I'm a teacher. I really try in my classroom too, but nobody ... oh, it's always intramurals. It's the priority.

Donna likes to try different teaching styles, and gets interested in something new every year. I asked Donna if she was involved in the teacher effectiveness program.

> That was last year. I'm into learning styles. I love it. I want to go into it next year. It's so interesting.

Donna is the youngest physical education staff member. Although she has proven to be a capable organizer, she relies heavily on the others for advice and guidance. Jan feels that Donna's apparent dependency encourages the men in the department to assume the dominant role in team teaching and departmental decision making situations.

> Well, sure! Donna is the guys' best friend! She will never say anything against them; she will never question them; she'll never say anything against them.

Moreover, she feels Donna gives lip service, but no real support to women's issues in physical education.

> Donna will sit there and talk about women losing their jobs in phys. ed. yet she will not do anything about it, and she will not feel it is really wrong.

Subsequently, Jan feels that Donna has no real commitment to the profession, but is simply in it for her own good.

The men in the department consider Donna to be a very effective, hard-working teacher and coach. As Paul says:

> ... with Donna getting into the program--and somebody in the school who's high-profile like Donna--who's keen like her and did such a great job and is doing such a great job [coaching basketball].

Paul Black

Paul has taught at Mainstream for 15 years. He was the department head in physical education when Jan and Donna came, but returned to full-time teaching three years ago.

Paul is the senior boys' basketball coach. He is the only person on the physical education staff to do just one extracurricular activity all year.

> I think of the basketball program at school as mine. Take a lot of pride in it, but also I put a lot of effort into it ...

Paul's basketball program is a high-profile sport that runs for the entire school year. He feels that this is necessary, because the students in that part of the city do not always have the money to enable them to attend summer basketball camps. He has been very successful with this program, winning both the city and provincial championships this year.

Paul is a highly motivated, intense teacher and coach. His past experience as department head sometimes leads him to handle matters that are Jan's responsibility. He has in the past year by-passed Jan about money matters a number of times when, as he says, he felt the matter was "over and above Jan's budget ..." and he went directly to the principal with his request. Most of his spare time is spent organizing and preparing for basketball.

He does not openly encourage students to return for a second year of grade twelve to play basketball, but does feel that returning players can use the additional time to raise their marks for university. He also believes that an additional year of high school experience can enable a boy to be a starter, rather than a substitute, when he enters college.

Richard Redmond

Richard is the current department head at Mainstream. He came from another city high school to take over from Paul three years ago. As department head in physical education he is responsible for curriculum development. He teaches all three grade levels, and coaches the senior boys volleyball team in the fall, and the soccer team in the spring.

Richard is a soft-spoken, reflective person who provides quiet leadership within the department. He instituted a number of curriculum changes and innovations when he first entered the school, and he looks for input from all members when departmental decisions must be made.

He is one of the people who temporarily took over Jan's administrative duties when she was on maternity leave. As a result, he occasionally oversteps into Jan's area to handle matters that should be referred to her.

John Grayson

John is the part-time member of the department. He teaches boys' tenth grade physical education and two grade levels in the language department. He is a big, friendly, outspoken man who coaches the senior boys' football, and is the head coach for track and field.

John taught with Donna in junior high, and moved to Mainstream a year after her. He enjoys teaching with Donna, and does not hesitate to say that he thinks she is the most knowledgeable and hardest working member of the physical education staff.

He has noted the time Paul puts into his basketball program, and is beginning to consider that his time spent in track and field could be better spent improving the football program. Like Paul, he feels that players returning for a second year of grade 12 do so to benefit themselves. They have more time to mature, and are better prepared for university.

It is difficult to tell if John dislikes, or simply is unaware of much of the paper work associated with coaching, but he usually manages to give it to Jan, or Susan, the teaching aide. He consistently by-passes Jan and goes directly to the principal if he needs additional money for his football program. It is difficult to tell if he is aware that Jan prepares and administers the athletic budget.

> But he's [the principal] the bottom guy, 'cause it obviously can't come out of our budget, 'cause it's spent. We have _no_ contingency fund. So we go to the principal in this case, who happens to be very supportive of phys. ed. in this school.

Other Participants

There are other people who play significant parts in Jan's daily life at school. Susan, the teacher's aide, has become an indispensible partner in dealing with the nitty-gritty of the athletics program, from keeping inventories of equipment and uniforms, to helping Jan complete mountains of paperwork.

The principal, Jim Smith, has become a symbol for change this year at Mainstream. The previous principal was a woman who took a casual interest in athletics, and who financially supported the program on an equal basis with other activities in the school. The new principal is a former professional athlete. He firmly believes that athletics are "very vital to the operation of any school." He has demonstrated his support for the program by participating as an assistant coach of the football team, and increasing the budget allocations for athletics next year.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION AS ATHLETIC DIRECTOR

> "Consider your verdict," the King said to the jury.
>
> "Not yet, not yet!" the Rabbit hastily interrupted. "There's a great deal to come before that!"
>
> Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

The theme in this chapter is Jan's struggle to win recognition for her position as athletic director at Mainstream school. This theme emerged from conversations and interviews concerning the origin of the department and the decision-making capacity of the athletic director's position. It became apparent to me that there was a need to ground this information developmentally, in order to get a sense of how past decisions had affected the present situation Jan was experiencing. The establishment of a separate administrative program of athletics, one which is so closely related in terms of activity (sport) and personnel (teacher/coaches) to the physical education department, has created particular problems, especially in the realm of decision-making. Jan has faced a constant struggle to achieve recognition and legitimacy for the athletic program.

The following chapter begins by viewing the origin of the athletic program through the eyes of Paul, the most senior member of the physical education department. Then, Jan and Donna describe their first year in working with a program that was little more than an idea on paper. It was early in the program's development that Jan perceived there was a problem in establishing recognition among the other physical education staff. Her first efforts to establish credibility were disrupted by her maternity leave, and she found it necessary to begin again. On her return, the joint efforts of Jan and her principal seemed to result in the recognition and legitimization of her position and program by most of the physical education staff. When a new principal, who was unaware of the administrative organization of the athletic program, was appointed Jan began the process of legitimizing her position in the school organization again.

The Development of the Athletic Director's Position

The story begins with Paul, the former physical education department head, as he explains how the position of athletic director originated in the school:

> Jan's job. It was traditionally the role of

the p.e. department head to do that job as well as curriculum. For a couple of years I did it. Then the focus on phys. ed. changed at our school a little bit and we seemed to get a little more support; or maybe the focus of the school changed. We started to get more support staff. Our support staff to teaching ratio was fairly high while Barbara was our principal. And we got a person like Susan, a phys. ed. aid. And we went through all kinds of things. It was a temporary job, a part-time job. We offered it to a second year grade twelve one year ... we had all kinds of people. We tried to combine that job with an athletic coordinator's job--sort of like a central office athletic coordinator, only at the local level. No decision making power, lots of scheduling, a little leg work, little stuff like that. No ideas, no thoughts, we don't want those. We just want you to do the mechanical things--pipe out all the forms, all the eligibility--that kind of thing. Book our gyms for us--stuff like that in terms of practice times and organization. Originally our plan was to have an aide, a non-certificated staff, in a non-responsibility job. We saw it as an athletic director, athletic department head--whatever you want to call it ... to be divorced from phys. ed.

We tried various schemes with support staff doing it, with a non-certificated ... one field hockey gal came in and did it one year ... she wrote a book that year on field hockey ... seemed to have a lot of time. So it wasn't a full-time, didn't seem to be a full-time job. And it's not a full-time job because we don't have the money and all that kind of stuff that the job in other locations would entail--like the States.

But we needed it to be a certificated staff. Barbara, when she was principal, hesitated on that for a couple of years and we tried various different ways. And found that it didn't work. Basically because you need that authority. You needed the ability to make decisions. That kind of thing. It became an athletic job which Jan I think was the first. First and only.

Athletics was separated from phys. ed. when our school in transition went through this "needs" situation. Was it a school need or a department need? And athletics we saw as a need

> of the school, serving the function of a need created in the school, not a need of the physical education department. Although the sports and activities came out of the department it wasn't a need of the department.

Once the school administration had determined that a decision-making position was needed, the process of determining what should be included in the job began. The program initially began with intramural and interschool activities and was separated in its first months. After the separation, the intramural program began to develop a student-run Council. Jan became immersed in the problems of developing a coherent system of providing equipment and uniforms for the interschool teams:

> When I came here to interview for this department head job, they asked me what changes could be made. What would I perceive?
>
> And I said, "One of the things that has worked fairly well at my other school, that we got involved in and started was an athletic council."
>
> And I said, "I was on Athletic Council and basically we ran all of the intramurals."
>
> And I remember the vice principal saying, "Well, how does that work, Jan, because we don't have a good intramural program here." And I said, "You usually have one teacher in charge, and at the other school we used to have kids do it all. They organized it." And then I remember implementing it that September (at Mainstream). I got myself right off on it. And, we decided--I remember going in and talking to my vice principal--we decided that Donna would run it--because I was trying to get all this--trying to get the uniforms off the ground. That was that first year. We had no uniforms, we had absolutely no equipment. We had absolutely nothing! 'Course, Donna and I both started brand

> new here (in their respective positions--both had taught previously). So that's basically how that started.

When questioned, Donna agreed with Jan's description about the separation of athletics and intramurals, in ~~their~~ first year, although she viewed the process differently. Donna explained:

> I got into intramurals here because nobody else would do it. It was through the process of elimination that Donny got 'er! I taught junior high with Ally Makin ...? and Ally ran intramurals through her leadership class. So when I came here, they really didn't have intramurals. And Jan and I got together and said, "Well, why don't we start an athletic council?" and try and run something, so, all of a sudden we were in it together and all of a sudden, Jan, with her assistant department head and that kind of left and I was there. [laughs] My first year I ran athletics and intramurals and I had like 25 kids and it was just horrendous.

As Jan developed the program at Mainstream, the responsibilities became more defined. When it became necessary to formulate a job description for budget purposes, she and her vice principal were able to write one up (see Appendix C).

Establishing Credibility--The First Time

When Jan assumed the athletic director's position, which had been part of the physical education department head's duties, she encountered a major problem in establishing credibility for herself as an administrator and for her position as a legitimate program in the school.

> Probably I had no credibility to start with, but I thought I had. I don't even think that they know what I do ... still. I think they're starting to, but I still think they don't pay much attention. I was here about a year and a half before I left on my maternity leave. I was still in the process of setting that program up basically. They'd never had one. Plus we had had a change of department heads. Paul was my (phys. ed.) department head my first year, and it was very hard to work with Paul in the sense that he ... when he was department head the majority of his work was done in athletics. I came in and took that part over, but he still couldn't let go of it. So we were always duplicating something. ... I never knew what was happening, and he didn't know a lot of things either.

Jan felt that it was difficult for her to establish credibility with some of the people in physical education, particularly Donna and John, because they never understood that although her responsibilities were associated with physical education, they were not part of the physical education department. The person who best understood the division was Richard, who was hired later, and was specifically informed of his duties from the beginning.

> And, of course by that time, Donna was still working on the year before probably too. I think Donna, it took her 'till this year to find out I wasn't an assistant department head in phys. ed.. You know what I mean? I mean, 'cause these are not important things to her. Not important things to John. They just ask whoever's around. And if they get shunted to me, fine. If they don't, fine.
>
> You see, that was the problem with Paul. Too many times they ask Paul because they were used to asking, then he'd give them the answers, and I didn't know what was happening.
>
> When Richard came in it was fairly straight forward from the beginning because he had no

> preconceptions of the job. So (his) job right away was curriculum, and he was told that in the interview by Barbara and by myself and by everybody else. I have to admit that Richard was extremely good. Everything that anybody went to talk to him about, if it was in my area he referred them to me. And that was starting to do very well. So really I guess it was really only half a year where the job descriptions were really laid out solidly, in that sense.
>
> My area is not phys. ed. at all! I teach in the phys. ed. department, but my department headship has nothing to do with phys. ed. And that's where people can't figure it out.

Jan's Responsibilities

Jan still experiences difficulty in convincing some of the physical education staff that she administers the interschool athletic program. Although they could presumably justify their ignorance about Jan's position as department head four years ago, they cannot now claim they do not know what Jan does. Her position has evolved over the four years to the point where there is a formal, written job description (see Appendix D), and Jan can elaborate on just what she does in her job. In response to the comment that perhaps the physical education staff have never had her responsibilities spelled out for them, Jan said:

> Every year we do this. Every year. I mean, they listen to me ... like a fly listens to somebody.

As part of her job as athletic director and coach, Jan finds coaches, drafts and prepares a budget, and schedules the facilities.

> I'm the one who finds out who the coaches are--that's my area. There's people that come from outside of the school that have done it for years for us here. I just contact them, or if they're the guy's friends they will. Like our soccer coach, he's a friend of Rich's, so I ask Rich to ask him. There's set sports that are just done automatically here from the school. It's always understood that Paul's going to do basketball. Always understood that John's going to do football. So far it's understood that Metro's going to do junior football--but I always ask him.
>
> The head coach finds their own assistant coaches, because, for instance, in basketball or volleyball, if the head coach wants a particular person to help them, then that's their choice. Why should I go up to a head coach and say I have an assistant coach here for you? That head coach might not want to work with that assistant coach.
>
> I write a gym schedule up every Friday.
>
> I usually set it up, and if the coaches question it, then I say you figure it out among yourselves, or else next week I do something different.
>
> I prepare the interschool athletic budget from the budgets and requests the coaches give me.
>
> I coach a volleyball team, I sponsor the gymnastics team which means I go to all those damn meets. I do the track and field. And I do Homecoming which is the huge athletic banquet.

Jan is aware of what she should do, and what she can do, and follows these guidelines closely. This was demonstrated when Jan discussed with me her responsibilities for informing Paul about the administration's decision on a fund raising scheme he wanted to run for his basketball team.

Ellen: How did Paul react when told he couldn't run bingos through the school?

Jan: I don't know if he's ever been told he couldn't run them.

Ellen: You haven't told him.

Jan: Well, it wasn't my job to tell him. That decision is out of my hands.

Ellen: You said at sometime you were going to have to tell him.

Jan: The information is mine. The information dispensing to the proper people is my job. But the ultimate decision is not my job. That comes down to the principal. I've never heard anything more about it so I assume it was kiboshed. I assume it was cut at that level.

Decision-making is a sensitive area in her existence as athletic director at Mainstream, because there is a power struggle, among some of the physical education staff and Jan.

> You know, like I go to department meetings and I come out of it like a g-d bitch, because somebody brings up something and I say, "You can't do that but have you thought of this, this, and it's gotta go through this." And it's, "Oh no ..." and then, of course, I'm the heavy--I'm the g-d bitch. But they never think of coming to me.

Her position as a decision-maker has been legitimized to some extent by the support her vice-principal has given her.

Ellen: Let me get this straight. Paul has some ideas to run bingo to raise money for his basketball team next year. He mentioned it to Pam [a vice-principal who has nothing to do with athletics], and Pam turns around and comes to a parent association meeting and says that they (the school) want to run bingos to raise money for athletes and all the rest of this kind of stuff next year. (Jan nods her head in agreement with this synopsis.) So what did Dan [the vice-principal responsible for athletics] have to say when you said you were tired ...

Jan: Well I guess Dan laid it into Pam at a principal's meeting. He said, "Pam was pretty perturbed at me."

I said, "Well good."

I said, "That's not her area."

Jan has also found support for her decision-making function from her former principal, who was responsible for creating Jan's position in the first place:

> You see, Paul and John, I just about had them with Barbara so that they always came to me. Barbara, she used to send them down to me. And after she did that a couple of times, then it was settled where it was.

Jan's Maternity Leave Jeopardizes Credibility

A year and a half after Jan began at Mainstream, she left for a ten-month maternity leave, and her job was filled temporarily. The credibility that Jan had established over 18 working months was disrupted during her absence by two things. The first, according to Jan, was a succession of people who temporarily "filled-in" for her administrative duties. The second was the lack of clear understanding in the physical education department, during the time that Jan was away, of who was responsible for Jan's duties. Both of these situations created a lack of continuity in the job and left the decision-making for athletics unclear.

> Then I left, (maternity) and basically Richard pretty well picked up my job. Nina was supposed to take it over. Like she did for a while, and then Barbara [the principal then] took it away from her in the September after the summer break and Rich basically took it over 'til I returned in February.

Donna knew that Nina had started in the job, but did not know that she had been replaced. She admitted that she usually went to Paul for information then anyway. Richard stated emphatically that Kathy Hamilton (Jan's temporary substitute) had taken over all of Jan's duties--teaching and athletic administration.

Re-establishing Credibility

When Jan returned to Mainstream from her maternity leave, she found it was necessary to re-establish her credibility again, because the physical education staff had become accustomed to going to someone else. The process was not easy.

> So of course they started going to Richard again. When I came back, they just continued going to Richard. So I don't think it was anybody's fault or anything. It's just the way people are. You just get used to doing something and you just continually do it.
>
> So I did talk to Rich about it, and he realized that a lot of it was the way he handled it--that they'd come and ask him and he'd give them the answer, after I was back, rather than put them on to me. Of course then, I either didn't know about it, or I'm finding it out

> behind the fact, and that is as frustrating as all get out. Christ, I mean it still happens, but not as much.

She would get frustrated, and blow off steam at her vice-principal, Dan.

> Well I'm sick and tired of this Dan.
>
> He said, "You mean it's happening ..."
>
> I said, "Of course. I'm being circumvented all the time. I have been for years. But it's only gotten really bad since I've come back from my maternity leave."
>
> He says, "You mean the phys. ed. staff?"
>
> I said, "Yes I mean the phys. ed. staff!"

Recognition and Legitimization

The organization of the athletic department slowly began to take shape. Most of the people in physical education began to realize that Jan had particular responsibilities in scheduling, budgeting and coaching.

> They're starting ..., it's taken them a good three years to realize that I'm the one they come to for gym space, but, [laughs] it still hasn't hit somebody like John ... Richard and Paul know. Donna knows. But it's taken them three years to fill this in, 'cause they used to just go and take gyms.

At the time that Jan returned from her maternity leave, she was strongly supported by Barbara, her principal, who supported her when individuals tried to by-pass Jan's decision-making authority. The principal's support also contributed to a growing recognition on the part of the physical education staff that Jan did have specific responsibilities and decision-making powers although some seemed remarkably resistant to the concept.

Ellen: John would still continue to go past you to Barbara, and she would send him back to you.

Jan: Yeah. And that was after I came back. That took a while. Still taking a while.

Establishing Credibility With The Principal

This year, Mainstream was assigned a new principal, and for Jan, the process of establishing her credibility began again.

> Tuesday, Rich comes into me and hands me a note, "To Richard Redman from J.W. Smith--Could you give me a complete breakdown, per sport, of outfitting an athlete ...," where is it? ... [searches on desk, finds it on bulletin board]. Oh, here it is--[holds memo and reads.]
>
> "How much money do you need to fully equip an athlete in every sport at Mainstream--both male and female team members. Please give me a breakdown by sport. Thanks. J.W.S. to R. Redman. Stop in and see me."
>
> So Rich gives it to me and says, "I don't think he knows what you do, Jan."
>
> I felt like saying, "Well, what else is new in this g-d school--and you don't help matters either [referring to Rich]."
>
> Then at lunch hour Jim was in the lunch room having tea when I got up to leave.
>
> He says, "Jan, can I speak to you for a moment?"
>
> And I said, "Yeah."

> He says, "I think I owe you an apology."
>
> He said, "I guess I sent the memo to the wrong person. I've only been here four months. I should know better."
>
> I said, "Yes [laughs], you should."
>
> He just lumped me. He thought I was an assistant department head under phys. ed., which I'm not! We have a department unto our own ... Sherry and myself. You know, it's Student Activities.

Jan obviously has to struggle for inclusion into matters that directly concern her as an athletics administrator at the school and system level. Once again her credibility as a decision-maker is called into question, this time by a principal who first, does not comprehend her position, and second, does not allow her to play an informed part in system-wide athletic affairs. This second issue is illustrated by the following anecdote Jan recounted about a meeting she was called to downtown, and the conversation she had with Jim Smith about it later:

> A meeting had been called for principals regarding bringing in River City and surrounding communities (as one competitive group). Athletic coaches and physical education department heads were called to our own meeting to discuss the issue, and find out what the principals had said at their meeting. The Chairman asked High School 'A' what his principal had said, and the department head said, "Yeah, his principal had called him down before the meeting and wanted some background."
>
> High School 'B' said the same.
>
> The Chairman said, "What about you, Jan and Richard?"

I turned to Rich and said, "Have you heard anything here?"

Rich said, "Nope."

I said, "I'm sorry, we don't even know what you're talking about."

So, I came to the community advisor meeting last night and Jim Smith was there so I politely told him I had a bone to pick with him.

And he said, "What about?"

I said, "Well, at our department head meeting Rich and I were asked what our feedback was from our principal, et cetera, re: this principal's meeting he'd gone to."

And he immediately said, "Well I probably didn't go to it."

And I said, "It was regarding River City and the surrounding communities for competition."

"Oh, yeah," he said, "I went to it. It was an information meeting."

I said, "Okay, I just wanted to know."

He said, "I put in my two bits worth."

I felt like saying, "You could have asked what our two bits were."

I said, "What was your two bits worth?"

He said, "Well, I'm opposed to it, but it's going to run anyway. Basic information. I never got the impression that there was a decision coming out of this."

Summary

The athletic program at Mainstream was originally part of the physical education department. Interschool athletics was seen by the administration as a school rather than a department need, and the program's administration was removed from the physical education department's auspices and placed with the department of student services. Jan was hired to teach in the physical education department, and administer the interschool athletic program through the student services department. From the beginning, Jan encountered problems when she attempted to make decisions about the administration of interschool athletics because the school's organization of the athletic program outside of the physical education department failed to find legitimacy and acceptance with the physical education staff and the new principal.

CHAPTER SIX

PERSPECTIVES

A series of interviews and conversations with Jan, the physical education staff, and the principal revealed a variety of personal convictions about interschool athletics. Opposing schools of thought about the role of athletics within the school, and the perceived importance of competition emerged from the transcripts.

Athletics in the School

The personal philosophies regarding the role of interschool athletics in the school ranged from those who held a comprehensive view of the overall impact of sports on the school, to those who maintained an exclusive interest in a particular sport.

Richard held a comprehensive view of the athletic program:

> physical education and athletics together is a British tradition which we still have in Canada. Separating athletics and p.e. is an American tradition and that's where lots of the abuses come. And I can see us, if we continue to separate the two, in a lot of ways, starting to get more professionalized, as the Americans do.

> We still have a leftover of many of our British traditions--three cheers, shaking hands, those kind of things, which they don't have in the U.S. at all. You see, many of those are just holdovers of our British tradition, and I'd hate to see us lose some of those things. So I think its still important that athletics is an extension of our program, although, you know, it's becoming more Americanized all the time, so I don't know if we can hold back the tide or not.

Jan's opinions were more specific to Mainstream school. As athletic director, she was aware of the athletic participation in relation to the total percentage of the school's population.

> I think it's got a certain spot in schools overall. We're not dealing with that many kids! We're talking interschool teams, we're mainly 450-500 at the utmost.
>
> By the time you include track, and swimming, and managers. Well maybe not 500. That would be really max. Last year I sent out 390 letters [of thank you]. This year I've split them up and sent them out in two waves--one's sent, the second won't go 'till track's finished.
>
> So I won't be able to count 'till after, 'till the end of the year. So somewhere between four, four fifty. Well that's not a third of the population of the school. School's 17-1800. We're talking a sixth maybe.

This awareness of the small percentage of athletic participation had an impact on Jan's convictions about which aspects of the athletic program she considered to be important.

> I don't think we can dispute the fact it benefits the kids. We're looking at a sixth, maybe a fifth of the population benefitting from something like this. To me, I don't think a large amount of money should go into something where ... it definitely has to go in there if you

> have to upgrade equipment--stuff like that. You certainly can't have kids competing on faulty equipment, or with faulty uniforms or whatever; referring to football, like the helmets and stuff. You can't have kids competing under those conditions. Once that's set up, I really question where the buck stops. Is it really necessary to be travelling out of province for tournaments? Is it really necessary to be going out of the country? Except for the fact it's good for the kids, etc., there has to be something ... that ... something stopping at somewhere.

Paul contributed a comment about his perception of the role of athletics at Mainstream school.

> I think we have excellent performers. We also have very excellent attitudes around here. I like our attitudes around here with regard to sports, and hopefully they won't change. They won't become so high profile they're out of perspective in the total picture.

Her own reflections on past encounters with Paul led Jan to make a perceptive observation about Paul's point of view:

> I don't even know if they (the physical education staff) have a philosophy. I've never talked to them about their philosophy. Like I know Paul, I don't think, believes that interschool is at the exclusion of everything else. I don't think he believes that, and I think in his own way it probably isn't. But when you look at it from an overall picture--he doesn't look at it from a picture--he looks at it only from his basketball team, you see? Until you look at the overall picture, of how it's affecting the whole school ....

The principal, when questioned on his view of athletics in the school, also looked at the "overall picture."

> I think that it is a vital part of the operation of any school. It's the function, or the service provided for students which takes them out of the academic area, with the

> recreational portion that I feel that each person must have--a good mix of both. so I feel that it is very vital to the operation of any school.
>
> If you have a good, solid athletic program, then good, strong athletes are going to attend your school. The numbers of people involved is negligible with regard to the impact created on the overall situation. Our school now, 1700 people--we probably have as sound a program as anywhere in the city.

He felt that he could best facilitate that role

> ...mainly by being supportive of the kind of programs that they want to run. If I can assure myself that these programs are equitable from the standpoint of age, standpoint of sex and some form of parity with regard to financial arrangement, then I think I can justify it myself to anybody.

Like the P.E. staff, Jan speculated about the new principal's convictions regarding competition and the school, based on what she knew of his past record, rather than as a reflection of any of her own beliefs. She felt he believed that a high profile interschool athletic program improved the school's public image and provided personal benefits for the participants.

> To me, his philosophy is apparent in increased funding. To him, he doesn't know any different. To him it's not increased because he's never had it [different] before. I think he would use something to get P.R. for that school. Athletics is a very viable thing. 'Cause for him it's been very viable. For him it's been a very plausible P.R. And I believe that he thinks that it is. He has proven it so at his other school with the tournament. That school is on the map, you see, because of that.

When I questioned Jan further about this point of view she commented that he probably believed that interschool participation benefitted primarily the students.

> Because it benefitted him! Athletics is a very viable thing, 'cause for him it's been very viable. All I know is, anything I ask for, I get.

Richard's observations about Jim mirror his own comments about athletics because he infers from [Jim's] background that he will have the same understanding of the relationship between physical education and athletics that Richard has. However, Richard does have some reservations about Jim's apparent competitive orientation.

> He's an ex-phys. ed. man so ... he knows, well at least he feels he knows that athletics is really important to a high school. Although I know Barbara was always supportive of what we tried to do. You know, that wasn't a slight on her. There might be a little bit ... no, I don't think he pushes anybody to win any more than anybody else does. It's just that he's involved with football, and they didn't do very well this year. And, I think he still ..., like, he's even been out with some boys early this year, three or four times. Just kind of getting boys thinking about football.

External and Internal Coaches

The athletic program at Mainstream offered more competitive sport activities than the staff in physical education could find time to coach. Although Jan involved coaches from the community and other Mainstream teachers to provide enough coaches for all of the teams, she was selective in her choices, and tended to follow a particular philosophy when doing so. She realized that her philosophy did not coincide with the men in the physical education department. Unlike the men in the physical education department, she was not always as concerned about an individual's coaching qualifications, as she was about whether the assigned coach's presence would benefit the athletic program in the school. When George, a community league coach who had previously coached at the school, asked to coach the senior girls' basketball team, Jan tried to convince Donna to do it:

> And I said, "You *know* what I think, Donna. I think you should do that senior girls' team. I think we need somebody *in the school* [Jan's emphasis] if we're going to build a basketball team. I don't think George [a community member] is really a good person to coach the team."
>
> "But he knows his basketball!" said Paul.
>
> You see, this is the whole problem. I have a basic philosophy difference with the men as to what a coach is.

Jan convinced Margaret, an art teacher who was an assistant coach before, ~~to~~ be in charge of the junior girls' basketball team. Jan felt it was necessary to have someone involved in the program from the school, even if she was not a highly qualified coach.

> You see, I look at it beyond that. To me, I want consistency in the program--somebody in the school.

Sports Specific View of Athletics

Do other members of the physical education staff only look at athletics through the lenses of their own coaching involvement? Many of the coaches displayed a single-minded commitment to their own particular program, and their discussions of the past and present principals' philosophies often became a mirror of their own feelings about their program. Paul exhibited a strong feeling of ownership for "his" basketball program:

> It's my program. And I'm selfish about that. I think of the basketball program at this school as mine. Take a lot of pride in it, but also I put a lot of effort into it.

And justified the extensive time and effort (all school year) he committed to the program in the following way:

> Here, we have to do a little extra, 'cause the kids don't show up at our door with all the skills in the world. Their athletic ability is just the same as anybody else, but they don't come with all the skills in the world, so we have to do a lot of extra things, to stay competitive.

Paul's pride and effort are reflected in his comments about his new principal's commitment to the athletic program at the school:

> Jim is a lot more vocal about athletics. Barbara didn't put on as much emphasis or importance. Jim is more high-key. He sees the value of sports a little differently. Barbara appreciated the P.R. that was received by the school--but not quite in the same way. Jim takes

> a pride. ... I think he demands performance. It's nothing that we never, ever did before.

John went a step further, and voiced resentment at the amount of time and effort he felt the basketball program received in the school.

> So our basketball season never ends around here. Our football season might not end if I had it my way--if it wasn't for track. There's only one of me.

However, he feels the present principal is giving more assistance to "his" football program.

> 'Til Jim Smith was here--the football equipment was in dire straits--awful ... the principal now happens to be very supportive, of phys. ed. in this school. This is where it's happening. He's supportive because it's good P.R. and because he likes the kids.

Competition and Recreation

Another notion that emerged from the transcripts was the difference in opinion among department members regarding competition and the place of recreation in a competitive program. John, for example, was adamant about his refusal to include a recreational aspect into a sport he was coaching. Jan related John's comments at a physical education department meeting:

> John comes out and says that he doesn't think he wants to coach track and field if it's going to remain recreational--doesn't like it recreational. He wants it competitive and he doesn't know how to get it competitive. "And," he says, "I have so much trouble finding coaches." He says,"And I can't handle the recreational aspect."

Jan, on the other hand, had concerns about the effect that winning, without a recreational aspect, would have on a program.

> I didn't put that much time into volleyball. Not any more than I have any other year. Mainly because I haven't had a very highly competitive team yet. Paul does. As soon as you get a winner, teams take up time, and it changes your orientation.
>
> See, my orientation in volleyball has always been fairly recreational, moving into competitive. So you don't need to spend a great amount of time on that.
>
> I think athletics should be competitive. But not competitive to the exclusion of everything else. Now granted, there are going to be recreational times in there. Not every team is going to be a winner. I think you should build on that. I think you build recreationally into competitive. But I don't think it can be run like an intramural type of thing--where it's all recreational.

Basketball - A Competitive Program

The basketball program at Mainstream is an example of how winning affects a program. This year, the senior boys' team won the Premier Conference City Championships and the "AAAA" Provincial Championship. The junior boys placed third in their conference. Paul has already indicated that the Mainstream boys enter the high school program with few skills and he feels obligated to "do a lot of extra things to stay competitive." Jan feels that there are positive and negative aspects to this situation.

> Granted at the moment, Paul's team is a very positive thing for our school. It's riding high. I don't think that's a bad thing. I mean, we're getting a lot of p.r. out of it. But then it depends on how much further it's going to be taken. To keep that positive p.r., to keep that positive hype, you know, you've got to be winners for a heck of a long time. Now, that's very hard to do. How is that going to be done? Does that mean Paul's going to have to put more and more into it? Now, already Paul's starting basketball practices [in the spring], because he knows he's losing the majority of his guys. So to maintain that level, he's got to get some guys in there. That takes a lot of time.

Donna coached the senior girls' basketball team for the first time this year, and won the City Conference City Championship. Jan feels Donna's attitude towards winning is changing:

> Of course, Donna will do the girls' basketball next year. She's a winner. [Laughs] She's already starting to practice with Paul next week. (Spring) All the more power to her. When you're a winner, everything's great.

When I spoke with Donna about the girls' basketball program, she was undecided about a training schedule that meant the loss of her own free time, although she was gradually coming to believe that the team was hers. This feeling of possession [my kids, my team] indicates a personal commitment to a program that may be the first step to increased involvement. This commitment is reflected in the two conversations that follow. One illustrates Donna's reluctance to get heavily involved in the program. The other indicates that she is in the beginning stages of becoming heavily involved in the coming years.

Ellen: Do you think you may do more travelling next year? More than you did this year, say?

Donna: Definitely more 'cause we didn't do any this year.

Ellen: Will you go out of town do you think? Or is there anything out of town?

Donna: I've been invited to lots, but I don't feel that, being my second year, that I'm going to be travelling to five different places. I'd like to go to a couple of in-town tournaments. I think my max. would be three tournaments. And that's enough! Like I know there's a tournament every weekend.

That's the only drawback to coaching seniors--is that I always felt I wasn't dedicated enough--'cause my weekends are my time. But I decided I can't hurt, three weekends.

As for spring practices, I'm not coaching, I'm playing. I'm going into the gym and having fun. I haven't started that yet.

I don't have time. I said to Paul, "I'll help one day a week and I'll come in and play," but I've been so busy with track and intramurals.

I explained that to Paul and he's pretty understanding. I feel bad that I said I'd do it and help him. I thought as a senior coach you should get involved, but now I wish ... maybe I've got to learn to say no.

However, right after this, Donna commented:

> I've got a friend who knows people in Hawaii. To play basketball. I wouldn't mind planning that for two years down the road. The kids I get next year I'll have for two years. And that way I'd know them, train them to what I like. I could trust them.

Jan had stated earlier that she felt it was important to develop a basketball program with coaches from within the school. Therefore, she arranged for Margaret, an art teacher, to coach the junior girls' basketball team. Margaret had acted as a teacher-sponsor for the volleyball and basketball teams, but had never coached a team on her own. Even though the girls won the City Conference City Championships, Jan was aware of the fact that Paul in particular was unhappy about Jan's coaching choice. He argued that Margaret's lack of technical knowledge about the game was a detriment to the program. When I commented to Paul that it seemed convenient having both women basketball coaches from within the school, he replied:

> Well, I'm not so sure. In terms of credibility. And I know it's a colleague of mine, but, you know, Margaret is a great gal who loves to get involved, but basketball is a very technical sport, ... And I'm not sure that she's that technical, or she's able to .... Having Margaret on staff and coaching ... I don't know.

But when I asked him if she could come to him for assistance:

Paul: Undoubtedly. She could come to anybody if she wanted to get help.

Ellen: Did you find that happened?

Paul: No. Not at all. I was a little disappointed in that aspect of it. But again I'm more concerned with the boys.

As Jan says:

> Donna comes in and everything's fine. Margaret won and all Paul says is, "Was sheer luck."

Summary

Athletics is a program operating at Mainstream School through the department of student activities, not the physical education department. Even though it is administered through a separate department, the athletics program draws its personnel, its coaches and its administrator, from physical education. The five people in the physical education department each have distinctly separate personal views about athletics, and competition, although a closer examination reveals that these viewpoints appear to fall into two camps--those who take a comprehensive approach to interschool athletics and those who take a more restricted personal approach to the program.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RELATIONSHIPS: SOME ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

Each person in the department brings his or her own "psychological and cultural dimensions" to the concept of working relations, of how to get along and get ahead on the job. The notions of what is effective, what is appropriate and what is right in terms of these working relationships often led to either outright confrontation or to more subtle struggles for power between the women and men involved in coaching at Mainstream.

Jan's Relationship With Donna

Jan was constantly frustrated and annoyed by Donna's methods of relating to others on staff. Jan felt that Donna achieved whatever ends she desired by encouraging other people to think that they were dominant in the relationship, and by agreeing with others' opinions, if it suited her at the moment.

> Donna will always defer to a male. Always. That's just her nature ... Her and I'll talk in the office. We'll agree on something, but at a staff meeting she won't back me up.

> Donna will sit there and talk about women losing their jobs in phys. ed., yet she will not do anything about it, and she will not feel that it's really wrong.

Further, by appearing to be helpless, or non-conversant about a subject, Donna was usually able to get someone else to do work for her. For example, Jan handled Donna's basketball team budget, Donna did not prepare or submit one herself.

> She approached me about her team going in more tournaments next year. She said she hadn't put in for any out of town tournaments. I said, "Well, you can, there's funding there for you." She says, "How far?" I said, "Well, there's not funding for you to go all over the place but there is funding."

As Donna says:

> I don't know a whole lot when it comes to budget. Jan does that for inter-school athletics. And for basketball, Jan budgeted for me for next year. I don't even know how many tournaments you go into next year.

Sometimes Donna just wanted reassurance that her work was satisfactory.

Donna: Maybe that's my fault [that intramurals wasn't recognized as a separate council]. I guess intramurals has never been as good ... although every year it gets better.

It became clear to me that Donna employed these strategies with everyone, when she appealed to me for direction in an internal administrative problem:

> So I don't know how to be included and maybe I should talk to ... Jim? Or who would I talk to? Just to get my name on the mailing list even.

As Jan says:

> You know, Donna is the golden girl here. She can do absolutely nothing wrong. And I am always the bitch.

Jan's Relationship With the Male Coaches

Jan narrated this sequence of interchanges that took place when John brought up the subjects of competition and the availability of coaches for track and field at a physical education department meeting. He was frustrated by the lack of competitiveness in the program, and the shortage of coaches. I asked Jan if John was the designated head coach in track and field:

> He's head coach, as he was last year. He took it over because I was on maternity leave--which he forgets! He says, "And we can't expect Donna to coach it because she coaches two teams and does intramurals."

At this point in the narrative, I began to wonder if John was promoting the stereotype of "the helpless female" as he attempted to "protect" Donna from greater involvement in the athletic program. The rest of the men and Donna appeared to acquiesce with this image by remaining silent.

> I'm sitting here thinking, "For ____'s sake, Lady ...." She's never coached two teams in her life here. One year she did and those were two junior teams and that's only because she wanted to give it a try .... She only coaches one frigging team a year, plus intramurals. I'm sitting here waiting for Donna to correct him [at the meeting]. No! No one corrects him! So I'm sitting there and I'm thinking, "I don't believe this--'course we can't ask Donna."

It is apparent that Jan is aware of John's effort to "protect" Donna and is angered by the attempt, but she finds herself in a double bind situation. If she protests John's inaccurate assessment of Donna's coaching responsibilities, she will appear unfeminine [I'm always the bitch]. If she remains silent, she'll appear to agree. Jan speaks up:

> So then he talks a little bit more about going into competitive and he kept saying he couldn't get coaches. I said, "John," I said, "everybody around here does two teams." You know. John ... he kind of looked at me--I said it really snarky.

Jan makes an indirect attack in this conflict by exaggerating the assigned coaching loads--no one in the department actually coaches two teams plus track and field. I believe that in doing this, Jan was attempting to indicate that she was annoyed by the implied stereotype and to relay to John that his information was incorrect.

Further, Jan takes the offense in the argument by making a direct attack on John:

> Then I said, "I get the impression you feel you are obligated to do this team--that you are being forced to do this team, John. No one is forcing you to do this you know." And then John said, "Well, who else is going to do it?" I said, "John, I've head coached track and field for ten years, I did it for two years before you got here." I said, "I will be more than happy to take over," I said, "but it will be run on a recreational level."

This confrontation puts John in the same double bind situation that Jan was just in. If he agrees, he will not only be allowing a woman to take over "his" program, but she will run it on a recreational basis, something his competitive nature will not allow. However, if he agrees to head coach again, he has already admitted that he cannot succeed in bringing the program to the competitive level he would like it to be at. He backs down.

Jan continues:

> [mimics John] "Oh, I'll take it this year ..." because he's already started. But, you know, I want coaches that are committed, et cetera."

Jan, however, refuses to let the issue drop there:

> I couldn't believe it. So I thought, "Okay." I was annoyed at the time. Thought, "Alright, I'm going to say something to you, John, on this one." So I didn't see him Monday and I saw him yesterday and I said, "John, I just want to tell you--as a point of information here--Donna does not coach two teams. John said, "Well that's what you said." I said, "No, that's what you said, John." John said, "Well, I meant track." I said, "No, you said two teams and intramurals. We can't expect Donna to coach track and field 'cause she already ..." I said, "She only coaches one team, John, and the only time in four years has she ever coached two teams was two junior teams two years ago." John asked me, "Well, didn't she do volleyball this year?" and then said, "Well, I classed intramurals as a team." I said, "That's not how you worded it, John" And I said, "The way it came out, the implication was that not everybody else does as much." ["Referring to me specifically," Jan added, "but I didn't say that."]

Jan concluded by saying:

> But you see, Donna has no concept. She doesn't even understand that this is going on. You know, and like John has no concept--to him, I do nothing.

> John said to me at a later date:

> I run the track. When it needs work, I'm the

> boss. I don't put any faith in male/female concerns. Time, that's what counts.

Jan felt that one of the reasons why she did not have the same relationship with the men as Donna was because of her reluctance to socialize with them after hours:

> So here I am, the odd-ball out. Everytime they want to call a meeting ... or Fridays after school, "Let's go to the bar." I don't go to the bar. Occasionally I do, but not usually ...
>
> And I don't stay 'till all hours. When they go out, I mean, they go out! They come back and the next day you hear about Richard and Donna or Paul and Donna getting in at 3:00 in the morning pie-eyed and stuff. Well they've never seen me like that.

Decision-Making

> Athletics is a department unto itself, or Student Activities ... but they can't understand that--the phys. ed. people can't. They still think Rich is their department head, and I'm the assistant.

The following narratives illustrate the struggles Jan experienced in her attempts to negotiate for facilities and coaches and to establish her right to make decisions.

Scheduling The Gym

One of Jan's responsibilities as athletic director is to coordinate the use of facilities for practices. This authority to make decisions about gym bookings created problems for John and Jan as they worked with each other coaching track and field. John had difficulty in acknowledging that Jan has decision-making power that he does not have. He deals with this by ignoring the comments she makes about her direct ability to handle scheduling and by belittling her assigned authority. As Jan tells the story:

> But, like for instance, it's been really rough this week for track. John comes in Monday, just hot-to-trot, 'cause he wants gym time after school. I said, "There should be no problem. This time of year is no problem." He says, "The soccer doesn't get priority." I said, "Soccer and Track have the same priority. The people that don't have priority is basketball. So we'll kick basketball out. So there's no problem there. We only need one gym anyway." So then I went up to him later, and said, "I'll hold a high jump practice in the north gym." He goes, "That's okay, 'cause I've got the north gym booked." I said, "Oh, do you? And by whom?" He just didn't say anything. He just kept walking. [Laughs] Like, I mean, everything I've said ...

I asked John what he did about scheduling indoor practices for track and field when the weather was inclement. His reply surprised me:

John: It's tough. The hallways.

Ellen: The hallways!

John: I use the hallways a lot.

Ellen: You don't have the gym?

John: Not for track. Soccer and basketball, ... badminton.

Ellen: Oh yeah, but basketball shouldn't have the priority should it?

John: Oh no, it doesn't. Soccer has. Soccer does. So to make people happy, I stay in the hallways.

Ellen: What do you do if you need to schedule the gym? Who do you go and see? Or do you just set it up?

John: This is interschool, right?

Ellen: Yeah.

John: Jan's in charge of interschool. She schedules it. Or, I believe she's been assigned to schedule the gym facilities for noon-hours and after school, with our intramurals taking priority over everything .... But here we follow it to the 'T'--to the 'T.' It'll never change. As soon as it does, we have a problem.

Although John realizes that facility scheduling is part of Jan's job, he makes it sound as if Jan is a teacher assigned to an extra chore, rather than a department head doing her job.

Coaching Assignments

Jan sometimes obtained coaches for the athletic program through the process of recruitment. This process was based, to some extent, on Jan's convictions about who she considered to be appropriate for a particular coaching role. Thus, she asked Margaret to coach the junior girls' basketball team because she felt it was important to have a female role model for the players, and that it was necessary for communication and continuity within the program to have someone in the school as coach.

One coaching assignment story began when Jan made a casual reference to a problem with getting a basketball coach last year, and I asked her what had happened:

> Oh, last year. It was in May. It was a rainy day. I remember it so vividly. [Both laugh] The only reason I remember is that we had very few rainy days and this particular day we had all the kids in the gym. So we were doubled or tripled up for co-ed volleyball, right?
>
> Paul and I had a 10 class and Donna had a co-ed 20 and she wanted to know if she could join us. Sure, no problem. So we had both gyms going with co-ed volleyball. Paul and Donna were talking and I was standing off to the side while the games were going on. All of a sudden, Donna says to me, "Well, what do you think, Jan?" I said, "About what?" And she said, "Well, about basketball." I said, "What do you mean?" Well this George that had been coaching the junior girls' team last year, he had been phoning Richard. See here's the thing again--but I guess I kind of understand it a bit because I wasn't here when he first started. [maternity leave] But he was phoning Rich, wanting to coach the senior [girl's] team this year. And Donna had indicated before that she wanted a senior team. So I said, "Well why don't you take the senior girls' team?" Well I guess George was wanting it. Paul and Rich asked me about it, and I said, "I think Donna should have it. I don't think George is really a good person to coach the team."
>
> "But he knows his basketball!" said the men.
>
> You see, this is the whole problem. I have a basic philosophy difference with the men as to what a coach is. 'Cause the coaches [men] want results. They don't care that George is fifty pounds overweight .... So the role model is gone. He coaches community [league], so he had mostly his community kids on the team, which is why he wanted to coach.
>
> I did not think this was a good thing for them, which of course Richard and Paul disagreed with. and I guess George phoned again. And Rich didn't

even come to me. He went to Donna--which he shouldn't have done anyways. He should have been passing this on to me from the start, as soon as George started phoning. But he didn't. And I guess he asked Donna about just doing intramurals and letting George do seniors. Well, this is what Donna was talking to Paul about. And that's where she said, "Well, what do you think, Jan?" And I said, "You know what I think, Donna. I think you should do that senior girls' team. I think we need somebody in the school if we're going to build a basketball team."

Well Paul at this point says, "Well, why don't you do the junior boys', Donna? They're probably going to walk to the city's next year."

I walked out to change the volleyball games and Donna is going, "You're kidding!" and on and on. [Sighs] So the class finished and I said, "Donna, I think you should do the senior girls. The girls need a role model. It's another reason why we're having this problem about women getting out of phys. ed. I think we really need to stand up for this. I think these girls need something like that." I said, "I'm going to talk to Rich about this."

I cornered Rich at lunch and said, "Richard, I was in a conversation with Donna and Paul and heard that George ...." Before I could even finish, Rich says, "Look, Jan, really, I don't want anything more to do with this." I says, "To tell the truth, Rich, you don't have anything more to do with this. This is my area." The ludicrous thing that's happening is that right at the moment Donna is thinking of doing the junior boys and George the senior girls. Stupid! This is totally ridiculous.

So I went back to Donna next block and I said, "Donna, I've talked to Rich and he agrees with me that it's my decision." And right away she cut me off--"Well, it's my decision too as to what I want to coach." And I said, "Well, I still think you should do the senior girls." And she said, "Well, I don't know. I kind of like the idea of junior boys."

I walked out the door.

So I never said anything more to her, and the

> very last day of June we were cleaning out the office together and Donna says, "What have you got there?" I said, "Oh, an invitation to a senior girls' basketball tournament." She goes, "Are we involved?" I said, "We?" She says, "Yeah, the senior girls." I said, "Well, you can take a look at it." That's all I said. I was just left hanging all that time.

Jan is hampered going into this situation by the fact that she must recruit coaches, but cannot assign them. Her decision-making power does not extend to an arbitrary placement of coaches with teams. All she can do is veto suggestions put forth about possible candidates for a job. This story highlights previous comments Jan has made about Donna's tendency to defer to the men and her desire to become involved in activities that hold the most potential benefit for her. This is a can't win situation for Jan from the start. The combination of a lack of communication from Rich, and Paul's encouragement of Donna's self-interest leave Jan in a defenseless position. Donna's gender based techniques of deference to the men pay off in dominance over Jan.

Parenthood

Parenthood presents problems for women that are usually not experienced by men in the same way. For example, all of the men in the physical education department have wives and families. None of them have had to leave their job when their children were born and none of them needs to cope with the additional responsibility of providing day-care--all of their wives work at home. The other woman in the physical education staff, Donna, is married, but has no children. The problems that Jan experienced in establishing credibility for her job when she returned from maternity leave have already been explored. The reality Jan experiences of having a child at home when both parents are working is a situation unique among the people in that department.

The added parental demands Jan has to deal with contributed to the feelings of social isolation and alienation that she experiences with the staff in physical education.

> I found my attitude changed after I had my baby. All of a sudden my job wasn't my number one priority, and it always had been. For sixteen years it had been my number one priority. That was what I did. That was what I liked to do. Nothing else really had my interest enough to put a great deal of effort into it. Anything that I did put a great deal of effort into probably was related to phys. ed. somehow. All of a sudden it wasn't that way. First of all, you're tied down, due to the fact that you have this child at home. That's one of the reasons. Second, I think is, you're tired. You just don't have all the time you had before. Even if you have your kid in day care, or with babysitters, when you get home that kid is still yours and you have to do something. I mean, you can still get home at 7:00 at night, but he's still there, he's ready to go. That sort of stuff. Plus I found out I didn't want to stay at school. I found out I quite enjoyed being at home ... evening staff meetings [that turned into social occasions] were okay before the baby was born. After he was born, I certainly couldn't do that very often.

> They [the men] don't notice the difference [in having a family], 'cause their wives are at home. Donna doesn't notice the difference 'cause her husband works late hours.
>
> My job hasn't been affected in the sense of how I do it; the only thing that's been affected is where I put my priorities in the job. For instance, I do not feel that the after school things are as important anymore as I used to. Things like that. To me, before, it was nothing to coach 'till 6:00 - 6:30. Now I don't want to go much beyond 5:00. That sort of thing. I don't go to as many meetings. I used to go to a lot of meetings [community activities, often]. I don't do that as much. 'Cause it's a strain on both [husband] of us. It's not that I don't want to leave my husband with the baby 'cause I do that, but I'm also tired.
>
> When I come home in the evenings, I can't come home and just sit down. Like before, when I was single, or first married, we could sit down, talk, have a drink, flop in front of the t.v. .... Then by 7:00-7:30 I've got energy to get out to my meeting again, or to a baseball practice or whatever we did. I can't do that now.

Summary

In this chapter the ways in which men and women in physical education interact as they work together were explored. Jan's perceptions of Donna's approach to the men and herself, as well as Jan's thoughts on how the men feel about her personally were described.

Relationships were further examined in a discussion about the decision-making processes that go on in athletic administration at Mainstream. A description of the subtle undercurrents of resistance to Jan's decision-making power by the men and the woman in the department is also included in two stories narrated by Jan.

Finally, motherhood in a family where both parents work is explored in terms of its effects on Jan's attitude toward her job, and her relations with the rest of the physical education staff.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

> Power and politics involve any sphere of activity, and all of its aspects that deal with the allocation of rewards .... Power conflict is always at stake in ideological disputes, whether or not those involved expressly acknowledge that dimension. (Apple, 1979, p. 21)

In most schools, the position of principal is equated with the notion of power. Power is a concept that is difficult to define. It may be, as Common (1983) states, "we all know perfectly well what it is - until someone asks us" (p. 206). She argues that the definition of power is problematic, but in any relationship conditions for power are present. "Whenever at least two people are related in some way relevant to at least one intended action, power is present" (Common, 1983, p. 207).

The Principal

Each of the people in the physical education department perceived a difference between the past and present principals in their attitudes to the athletic program at Mainstream. For the most part, they perceived the difference to be in the way in which athletics could be used for the school. That is, most of the physical education staff perceived Jim to be interested in using athletics as a means of creating more publicity, of becoming more high-profile within the school as a way of publicizing student achievements.

Jan was probably most aware of the conditions for power that existed between the principal and the athletics program. Although she and the principal were related in their interest in the athletic program, she could not agree with his autocratic manner of doing things. She was aware, however, that the power to make the final decisions in athletics lay firmly in his hands.

The rest of the physical education department did not view Jim's approach to athletics as a potentially conflicting situation. They felt that he was wholeheartedly involved in the program, and they approved the change. As White (1983) says, when one person affects another significantly, and there is not a conflict of interest, then not power, but a form of influence is being exercised.

Richard:

> There's a little bit of difference. Barbara was basically just a supporter. She supported our program whereas Jim is more of a ... pusher and a goer--he's more involved in it himself. There's ... I think Jim feels that it's more ... that a

> high visibility program is probably more important to him than it was to Barbara.

Donna:

> They're both ... phys. ed.'ers. They're both phys. ed. types. Like, Barbara may not be an athlete or anything, but she still backed us. But I would probably think Jim is more phys. ed.

John considers Jim to be "very supportive."

Jan:

> We can sure tell there's a man at the helm now! I'm going to get canned. Him and I are not .... We're starting ... not overly impressed. I'm not a female that sits back.
>
> You see, Paul and John, I just about had them with Barbara so that they always came to me. Which they hated to do, and they hated to go to Barbara worse, 'cause we're talking two women. So either they went around me on the sly and got chastised for it or they eventually didn't do it. Well now they don't, you see. They go to Jim, and Jim, there's no problem.

Paul:

> Jim encourages the establishment of school identity and pride around student achievements - athletic or non-athletic, but student achievement - is I think, a little more important to Jim. Barbara's was a school identity in a different vein. They [Barbara] were very proud of the academic achievements. Sports was nice. It was a good perspective on it. We never got into a situation ... I enjoyed Barbara and her approach. If the kids did a good job, we said, "Good job," patted them on the back and that was it. She'd take them out to dinner if they won a city championship. Jim hasn't done that. Hasn't even thought about doing that. Barbara would do the neat little things that a lady will do - the little note on the pretty little card. Jim sent a form letter. Very masculine. Barbara would send you a nice little card with a nice little scene on it. You know, "Congratulations, I know you've done a lot of great work," or whatever, you know, "and please pass this on to the boys." Okay? She almost said, "signed Grandma," you

> know. It was like that. So nice. Jim is more demanding. Barbara didn't demand anything. We got used to a feminine feeling for such a long time, and we taught that "feminine feeling" to be excited about sports. You know, she wasn't very excited about sports at first, but she came to realize there wasn't any "vulgar" things going on. It was all done in the true spirit of sportsmanship and all that kind of thing.

The School's Organizational Structure

The school's organizational structure included all of the characteristics of a formal organization. Power and authority flow downward from the principal, through the various labour divisions of vice-principals, department and assistant department heads, teachers and students. Power centres are established in different academic and activity departments that answer to a vice-principal or directly to the principal. Communication flows both ways through these channels, and relationships are established on these bases.

In Jan's case, her position as Assistant Department Head - Athletics in the Department of Student Activities meant that her access to the principal was directly through one of the vice-principals. Jan explained how athletics as a program fit into the organizational structure of Mainstream school:

> My area is not phys. ed. at all! I teach in the phys. ed. department, but my department headship has nothing to do with phys. ed. And that's where people can't figure it out. I wouldn't want to be an assistant in phys. ed., because that's got implications of timetabling. So it

> would be whatever the department head wanted to give me. I don't want that. That could be, "Oh, yeah, do a little bit of this, do a little bit of that." There's no clear-cut job description there. I'm a teacher in the phys. ed. department, so Richard's in charge of my timetable for my classes; but my department, which is athletics, or Student Activities, that's not timetabled through Richard. There aren't any classes to teach in there. If I was assistant department head of phys. ed., then Richard could probably have the say as to everything in athletics, basically .... If he was my department head he could write my job description. As it is, I wrote my job description, and I go directly to Dan [a vice-principal]. You see, that's what Rich does also. Rich goes directly to Dan for his department. But if I was an assistant in phys. ed. I would go to Rich, and Rich would then go to Dan. But you see, we have a department ourselves. I'd rather keep it that way, 'cause I have more autonomy.

The Liaison Role of the Vice-Principal

I observed Jan on many occasions chatting on a casual basis with Dan, the vice-principal responsible for the athletic department. There were many other references in the transcripts to conversations Jan had had with Dan about school affairs. In her eyes, he provided support for her position, acted as liaison with the principal, and provided information about possible developments in athletics in the school.

The following three excerpts illustrate the kind of functions Dan performed as a liaison between Jan and the principal. In the first excerpt, Jan shares with Dan her concerns about projected timetable changes (including program needs time allocated to the physical education department) for the coming year. She realizes that he is in a good position to not only carry her concerns to the principal, but he can tell her what decisions have already been made.

> Dan Bordeau told me something very interesting today. Dan and I sat there and chatted 'til about quarter past ten 'cause I was a little perturbed about the timetable. I don't want the change in timetable. We're trying to feel out if this is a "fait accompli" or whatever.

In the second excerpt, Dan is able to give Jan some vital information about Jim's favourable attitude toward internal school athletics, based on an administrative budget meeting he attended. This information helps Jan to predict how future budget requests may be received.

> And I looked at Dan and I said, "Do you mean to tell me, all that stuff I put in there was approved?" And all Bordeau said was, "At the end of the budget he [Smith] turned to the V.P.'s and Jerry Renshaw [business manager] and said, "If you haven't figured out where my priorities are now, you never will."

Jan began the third story by reading a note Jim Smith had sent to Richard asking for information about interschool athletics. Richard had delivered the note to Jan with the comment, "I don't think he knows what you do, Jan." Jan took the note to Dan.

> And I said, "Well, first of all, would you take a look at who he's addressed it to?" He said, "Hmm." I said, "Well, what does he think I do? Go to the department head meetings for the coffee?" [Laughs] Dan said, "To tell you the

> truth, Jan, we're having a principal's meeting this afternoon." he said, "and the things that are going to be discussed are, whether we should have as many assistant department heads; what about program needs time ... all that stuff." So he said, "Job descriptions would fit in quite appropriately here." So I said, "Okay."

By telling her of an upcoming opportunity to inform the new principal of her role, Dan helped Jan deal with the constantly recurring problem she has with establishing recognition for her position.

The Lines of Communication

During my ten months at the school, I observed Jan speak with the principal on three occasions. She referred to two other conversations she had had with him during that entire time. Most of the communication Jan had with the principal was done through other people: Dan, the vice principal, the business manager, or "Bobby," one of the new department heads in the school.

Bob Jones' (Bobby) position in the school was one that created a certain amount of confusion and anxiety for Jan. Bob had come to Mainstream at the same time as Jim Smith, from Jim's former school. He came to Mainstream as a welding instructor in the Vocational Education department, but took on other duties as the year progressed, apparently under the authority of the principal. Jan explained the situation in the following way:

> I had to give Bob Jones a list of all the kids who participated in interschool sports. "Bobby," I call him. Let Bobby do it. He is in vocational ed. Nobody knows what he's doing. Just all of a sudden he comes out with things ... like ... a memo, from Bob Jones. When I asked him whose authority, he said, "Jim Smith's." Those memos, they just come from nowhere. The reason I find it funny coming from him is that, to me, he is not a liason or anything. To me, I would have assumed it would have gone through Dan Bordeau. But obviously, Bobby wants it for some particular reason. I don't know what the reason is, we're never told that. He asks me for this list of all the kids that have participated this year. I asked him what it's for. He says, "It's for the boss." I said, "Well, what ...?" He said he didn't know. I said, "Bullshit." It's never been made clear what his liason is. We surmise. [Laughs] It's been difficult to know where he fits in. He just came with Jim. But he's also involved in Academic Challenge. All of a sudden we have an Academic Challenge program here next year. Nobody knew about it. He's in charge of a lot of things that no one's ever heard of. ~~They~~'re here. We've got 'em. For instance, the gifted. Got involved in that. Got involved in the Academic Challenge. Keys to Excellence ... I don't really know what he does [laughs]. He's always doing something. He's definitely got a department head position that nobody knew of. We never had a department head position before in that area.

Requests for information, and the introduction of new programs come through an individual whose position and job responsibilities are kept deliberately ambiguous by the principal. Jim Smith allows Bob Jones to quote his authority without making clear to others what his position in the usual lines of communication is supposed to be. As Jan says, "he's not a liaison or anything."

This lack of feedback about requested information and the exclusion of other staff from the process of new program development leads to feelings of powerlessness, frustration, and confusion--at least on Jan's part: "These memos, they just come from nowhere ... I don't know what the reason is, we're never told that .... He's in charge of a lot of things no one's ever heard of. They're here. We've got 'em."

By keeping Bob's position ambiguous, the principal can introduce new programs (or conceivably alter current ones--"He's definitely got a department head position that nobody knew of. We never had a department head position before in that area."), without opposition, for two reasons. First, the staff does not know about new programs or positions until they are a part of the school's organization. Second, they do not know who to go to for information when new programs are introduced. Bobby does not represent a power centre for most staff, and he does not fit into the lines of communication established at Mainstream. This makes it confusing for staff who may wish to question what is happening. Bob quotes his authority for information gathering by word of mouth only: "I asked him whose authority, and he said, "Jim Smith's." By being the only one that knows what is happening, and by obscuring the lines of communication, Jim Smith keeps all decision-making power firmly in his hands.

This refusal to share information is further illustrated by a story that was told by Jan. This concerns the memo that Richard delivered to Jan from Jim Smith, requesting information about the amount of money spent per athlete, per interschool sport:

> Then this list comes out. I went to Rich to clarify a few things on football 'cause John wasn't here, and Rich said not to worry too much about it because he thinks it's for a grad-student at the university. I said, "For crying out loud, why doesn't somebody tell me this?" You know, because I look at this, to me that's a budget item. And if it's going to be for my budget, you know, I'm going to think really carefully on this, right? 'Cause this could have very heavy implications. But if it's for some grad student's Ph.D. thesis I'm not going to care as much about what I write down ... I may not be as cautious. I'll be accurate, but I'm not going to be worrying about every little cent. So I gave it to him [the principal] yesterday--he never told me, never said anything .... So I asked him what it was for. He didn't say anything. He just said something to the effect that there are a lot of implications as to where money goes. To me it sounds like budgeting. But nobody tells anybody anything.

Jan had formed the opinion that Jim preferred to handle administrative matters on his own with little consultation with other staff members, based on episodes such as the following:

> A little bit later he [Smith] was discussing budget in front of the community advisors and he says, "Budget procedures here are different than last year, contrary to what most people want." And immediately turned and looked right at me. [Laughs] Before, budget procedure was always done with everybody involved. There's no point in talking to him. He listens but he doesn't hear. Same as when we tried to explain to him about the budget process. He just says the end result is him. It's his basically, to do with as he wants.

As far as Jan's budget requests went:

> He didn't cut a thing--he didn't even question. He didn't even ask anything about it. It was just done.

This preference for complete control and minimum communication on Jim's part led Jan to experience difficulties in administering her own department.

Circumvention

The circumvention that Jan experiences with the physical education staff in the areas of facility scheduling and coaching appointments has already been described. The appointment this year of a principal with Jim's characteristics--a personal interest in the use of interschool athletics to promote school publicity, combined with a strong tendency to control all decision-making in the school, has encouraged John and Paul to attempt to circumvent Jan in the one area where she possessed decision-making power--budget preparation and expenditures. Until this year, Jan had strong support from Barbara, and any attempts by the physical education staff to circumvent Jan were firmly handled. As Jan says, "You see, Paul and John, I just about had them with Barbara so that they always came to me." However, John and Paul in particular, quickly found they could go directly and successfully to Jim if they needed additional money for their own programs. Jan describes two incidents where she experienced the principal's cooperation with John and Paul's circumvention attempts:

> On my computerized budget readout I'm reading out today--you know I have to read this so closely 'cause sure enough--football drill book is on it --purchased January 28. $32.95. Not a big amount of money ... but nobody told me about this. So down I come to Jerry Renshaw. "Jerry, what is this?" "Oh, that was John. We went in and asked the Boss-man." He [John] needed it. He had the book. John already had the book sent to him. Typical of John. He already had the book. Jerry remembers that because John had the book and Jim Smith came into his office and said he needed this money sent to this place right now. That's the way John operates from day one. Chick, our receiver, phones me up: "I've got some goddam stuff down here!" "What is it? I don't know anything about it Chick." "Well, it's from John. John ordered it from Athletic Supply. Now I need a P.O., et cetera." Well of course he hasn't got a P.O.--he's got nothing--but it's here, it's sitting there. Something's got to be done with it. It was t-shirts last year. I mean, now we're talking $32.95 [the book]. Big deal. But I've been $32.95'd to the point where I am so far in debt in my budget, it makes me look awful. And at no time was I ever, consulted. Or even had to sign a form. Now it's not that I've ever said no. There was no time with Barbara ... Granted, there were times when she'd say, "I want you to approve this, Jan." But at least I knew and didn't get it somewhere in a budget printout. I don't know where he [John] thinks the money comes from! I'm in debt. I budgeted so much money except now we're getting all these little freebies thrown in.

In this story, Jan describes how Paul received permission from Jim at the beginning of the school year to order and then market school pins from the school store. The coaches, usually Paul, were in the habit of drawing pins from the store when they travelled to tournaments, to give away as souvenirs. Jan explains first how the pins are paid for, and second, how the teams can afford to travel to tournaments.

> Well they've spent over $500.00 on pins that they took to tournaments which was never budgeted for. I didn't know they existed! Well, of course, they didn't exist until Paul ordered them. Paul came to us (Jim and Jan) during coffee one day and said we needed them. They were ordered into the school store. And of course, now they buy them back. They. In the sense of my budget. [Laughs] What Paul does is he goes to the school store, the school store gives him a hundred pins, the school store bills me. [Laughs] Then they (the senior boys' basketball team went to Saskatoon. None of that's ever on the budget. We've never ever paid for tournaments. We pay the entry fee but never for accommodation or gas or anything. That's never, ever been--Barbara would never go for that. Paul went to Jim and asked if this could be handled. And Jim said, "Sure. Take it out of Jan's budget." [Laughs] There goes another $338.00. [Laughing].

Paul and John explained to me that they bypass Jan if they feel she shouldn't be bothered with the request, or if they think her budget is unable to handle what they need.

Ellen: Who do you go to if you need more basketball equipment or travel money during the season?

Paul: Jan.

Ellen: You go through Jan?

Paul: I have to go through Jan. Sometimes I go to Jim if I felt it was over and above Jan's budget, so Jan didn't have to deal with it.

Ellen: What do you do if you need extra football equipment during the season?

John: During the year?

Ellen: Say you're playing and you run out of helmets--you break or lose them.

John: Well, I go to the principal and say, "We need

> this and this." And he says, "Is it important for safety?" And I say, "Yes."--then we get it. If it's a frill, I don't even ask for it. If it's good for the school, I talk to him. But he's the bottom guy, 'cause it obviously can't come out of our budget, because it's spent. We have no contingency fund. So we go to the principal in this case, who happens to be very supportive of phys. ed. in this school.

A Final Comment

Up to this point, most of Jan's attempts to carry out her responsibilities have had limited results. I asked Jan what she considered to be the positive aspects of her job:

> I've learned a lot more about how a school runs--budget-wise, adminstrative-wise. Being included more in the decision making of the school ... the power! [Laughs]. Just feeling that you have a bit of power when you're in an administrative position. You're more than just the ordinary run-of-the-mill teacher. And they look at you like that in a way. And you have no power. You have absolutely no power .... [Laughs]

Summary

The school's organizational structure was the focus of this chapter. Four sub-themes emerged. First, perceptions of the physical education staff regarding the influence of the past and present principals on the athletics program were described. Second, the place of the athletics program within the Mainstream School organization, the implications of its place for Jan's position as athletic director, and the liaison role of the vice-principal were examined. Third, the methods and the person the principal uses to gather decision-making power to himself were described and analyzed. Fourth, Jan described how some of the physical education staff are aided by the principal in their attempts to circumvent the decision-making power she holds over budget expenditures.

CHAPTER NINE

REFLECTIONS

> 'The time has come,' the Walrus said 'To talk of many things: ...'
>
> Through the Looking Glass

Doing qualitative research is not a neat and tidy business. I found, on many occasions, the process to be frustratingly slow and irritatingly uncooperative. Themes would not develop as I naively thought they should. Interviews and even conversations were not always packed with "useful" information. Sometimes crucial conversations could not be taped and all the information jotted down would have to be painstakingly verified at a later time. I often felt that I was moving one step forward and two steps back.

At the same time, I was intrigued by the topics that seemed to evolve as the thesis developed its focus. I came to see that such diverse subjects as history, psyschology and educational administrative theory came to be important aspects of this study.

It took time--a great deal of it--to gather enough information to make a preliminary judgement about the amount and kind of information that would be needed to answer the questions this study set out to explore. Ethnographic research cannot be hurried. It took much more time, thoughtful analysis, and some worrying guesswork to decide when to stop gathering information. The accuracy and veracity of the descriptions compiled from the interviews, conversations and observational data is based on the trust developed between the reader and the researcher. This study describes what I saw, heard, and understood. This study is trustworthy if readers recognize a situation, identify with an interaction, or understand, in terms of their own situations, the observations I have made.

The Essential Problem

In the final analysis, the most important problem facing Jan Whitehead at Mainstream was achieving legitimate acknowledgement from the physical education staff and the principal for the responsibilities inherent in her official administrative position as Assistant Department Head - Student Activities: Athletics. This analysis differs considerably from those drawn by others who have studied aspects of high school athletic directors' jobs. Heinkel (1979) studied the actual and preferred tasks of women athletic supervisors in Wisconsin and found that women were able to define their actual and preferred task responsibilities. Each woman in the study had only secondary responsibility for the administration of girls' interschool athletics at her school, and had limited decision-making and supervisory duties. In every case the women were subordinate to a male athletic director who controlled the entire competitive athletic program at the school. Although Heinkel (1979) concluded that women high school athletic supervisors did not want greater control of the girls' interschool athletic programs; it is also possible to conclude that because the women had little decision-making responsibility, they felt it was unimportant who did the job as long as the job was done. The limitations imposed upon the women athletic supervisor's decision-making and supervisory duties in Heinkel's study were due, in part, to their subordinate position in relation to the male athletic director. The problem Jan faces in achieving legitimization and acknowledgement for her job as athletic director for both boys' and girls' activities at Mainstream was not experienced by these women whose job responsibilities for girls' athletics only were clearly regarded as secondary to the greater responsibilities held by the male athletic director who made decisions for both the boys' and girls' interschool athletic program.

Jan Whitehead's difficulties began when she assumed the position of Assistant Department Head - Student Activities: Athletics, at Mainstream. The historical basis for Jan's difficulties in establishing legitimacy, recognition and acknowledgement for her position as administrator of interschool athletics are grounded in the following situations:

1. The decision by Mainstream's administration to separate athletics from other programs run by the physical education department was made prior to Jan's appointment at Mainstream. Although she was hired to administer interschool athletics through the Department of Student Activities, she was also hired to teach physical education. These joint responsibilities blurred the distinction the school administration was attempting to make between athletics and physical education as separate departments, particularly in the eyes of the physical education department members, who were accustomed to administering the program through their own department.

2. The duties of the athletic department were ill defined when Jan started at Mainstream. Her responsibilities had to be delineated during the first year, and this contributed to further confusion among the physical education staff. Jan's duties involved organizing a program that was later associated exclusively with the physical education department.

Upon her arrival at Mainstream, Jan organized both the intramural and interschool programs. When the administrative demands of the interschool athletics program became too pressing, she delegated the intramural organization and administration to Donna, a member of the physical education department. Subsequently, the intramural program was established as a program run by the physical education department. Relegating the intramural program to Donna increased the uncertainty among the physical education staff as to what Jan's job responsibilities were.

3. Prior to Jan's appointment, the athletic program was part of the physical education department and administered by the department head. When Jan came, the physical education department head was no longer responsible for athletics. This situation created two problems:

a) Paul had previous knowledge of how athletics were administered at that school--he had done the job himself--and could not easily separate himself from the job when someone else took over.

b) Whether Paul felt he was helping Jan while she was becoming familiar with school routine, or whether he could not or would not acknowledge Jan's administrative position, his willingness to handle problems in athletics that were Jan's responsibility made it more difficult over time for her to establish administrative credibility among the people in the physical education department.

4. Jan's efforts to gain acknowledgement for her administrative responsibilities were further hampered because Donna and John were careless about differentiating between the proper lines of communication for athletics and for physical education. They simply used the most expedient method of asking anyone available for information, equipment and facility schedules.

5. Both Jan and the first principal, Barbara, failed to make adequate provision for ensuring that a strong administrator outside of physical education would assume responsibility for the athletic program when Jan went on maternity leave. The first person appointed, from within the school, did not continue in the position after the summer break and there was confusion among the physical education staff as to who actually was responsible. The staff became accustomed to going to either Paul, who had done this kind of work before, or Richard, who was ascribed authority because he was the physical education department head. The distinct separation that Jan had been working for between the athletic program and the physical education department became difficult to discern.

6. Jan found support for the athletic program from the principal who had hired her, and from one of her vice-principals. When the second principal was hired, Jan did

not receive the same support or acknowledgement of her responsibilities. This created the following three problems:

a) The new principal provided inadvertent support for the physical education staff's attempts to bypass Jan when he failed to recognize that athletics at Mainstream were administered through the Department of Student Activities, not physical education.

b) Even after the new principal recognized athletics as separate from the physical education department, he tended to withhold information from Jan. For example, he failed to inform Jan about the possible system-wide changes in athletics--preventing her from making fully informed decisions when preparing the budget for the coming year.

c) Finally, through the principal's reluctance to share information with Jan about interschool athletics, he put her in a position where she was embarrassed in front of her peers. She publicly admitted that he did not recognize her position.

Working Relationships

As well as the essential problem associated with achieving recognition and legitimization for her position, Jan experienced problems in relating effectively with the physical education department. Considerable research has been done in the area of small group psychology focusing on problem aspects of small group relationships. Models of small group development and growth provide structure and a comprehensive basis for understanding the human interactions characteristic of small groups. The application of a general psychological structural model such as Boyd's Matrix (1983, 1984) to a small group composed of an athletic director and a physical education staff provides a useful basis for future research. Currently, many studies of small groups focus on pre-determined situations "staged" in a laboratory atmosphere. To date, no studies have been reported which use an educational setting to examine a group such as the one discussed in this thesis. During the course of the study I observed problems among the physical education staff at Mainstream. These problems included facility limitations, goal and personality conflicts, leadership and communication patterns.

To begin with, the physical education department has separate offices for men and women. Although each office is located near a gym, across a series of hallways from each other, there is no easy and immediate access between the offices. Moreover, in both offices each of the desks faces a wall, away from everyone else.

In addition to the physical separation of the offices, the physical education staff did not share their personal philosophies with others. Except for Jan, none of the staff discussed with me their thoughts and feelings about competition, the role of interschool athletics in the school or their commitment to the teaching profession. Jan believed that John's, Paul's, and Donna's first priority was a commitment-to-self which may have prevented a sharing of philosophies, either because no one cares what the others think, or more likely, because they assume everyone thinks the same.

Although Jan firmly believes that her own commitment to the profession is based on working with people, she does not perceive the members of the physical education department to be as committed. When these incongruent perspectives combine with a lack of communication about each other's personal convictions, the result is an unclear group common goal. For example, Jan wanted to develop within the interschool athletic program a system whereby coaches are drawn as much as possible from within the school staff, in order to provide a firm basis for continuity and development of the entire interschool athletic program at Mainstream. The rest of the physical education staff wanted a team to be coached by someone who "knows" the sport, regardless of whether they are a staff member or not. For them, a knowledgeable coach is the priority. For Jan, continuity in the program is more important.

Another problem area for the group as a whole is leadership. Within the physical education department there are two appointed leaders, one responsible for curricular matters associated with the physical education department, and one for extracurricular athletic matters associated with the department of student services. Members of the physical education department, particularly John and Paul, circumvent both leaders by either solving a problem on their own, or by going over the heads of both administrators to approach the principal directly for support. John practices track in the hallways rather than arrange a gym booking. Paul goes directly to the principal to arrange for additional funds to cover his basketball team's travel expenses. Dual lines of communication within one small group hinder effective leadership and confuse areas of responsibility. Leadership that is handicapped by ineffective communication may result in the eventual splintering of the department into individuals interested only in pursuing their own interests.

In addition, the physical education department staff hold different perceptions about issues such as the role of athletics in the school. Jan and Richard view competitive athletics in terms of the impact the program has on the entire school. John, Donna and particularly Paul tend to view the athletics program only in terms of the impact "their" team sport has on the school. This has created a split between the two administrators and the rest of the physical education staff which could lead to further splintering within the group.

Jan, as athletic director, often arranged for coaches and facilities through negotiation. For example, she attempted to satisfy the coaches' wishes regarding the level and type of team they wanted to work with, while at the same time she tried to satisfy her own convictions about on-staff coaches and appropriate role models. Conflicts arose when the coaches resisted this process, and arranged for coaches or facilities themselves.

The nature of the resistance Jan experienced in her attempts to negotiate may be gender-based. It is impossible to say whether the men and the other woman in the physical education department would react differently to an aggressive male athletic director, or to a more submissive female director. There is no way to compare, because Jan is the only person to have held this position. The nature of their resistance, however, suggests a subtle gender bias. The men resist Jan's negotiation attempts through circumvention, by belittling her authority, or by actually assuming her responsibilities. Donna resists Jan by challenging her in the area where she has no decision-making power, that is, the actual selection and appointment of team coaches. Jan's negotiations were made more difficult not only because she is a woman, but because she is an aggressive woman.

Many personality theorists contend that women cannot be effective leaders because they do not have the appropriate personality characteristics for success in administration (Connoly, 1980; Spillman et al., 1981). Women are assumed to lack competitiveness and aggression and to possess strong nurturent capabilities. Women are believed to be submissive and less verbal in group work than men. Finally, many researchers believe that women are ascribed lower status than men simply because they are women (Lenskyj, 1984; Mackie, 1983; Unger, 1976). In accordance with the description of characteristic personality traits displayed by women in groups, Donna is deferential, suggestable, and sociable with the men in the department--traits they appear to like and admire. Jan, on the other hand, tends to be aggressive on issues that she feels strongly about and assertive toward the men and Donna. Jan has perceived that her aggressive character traits makes the other members of the physical education staff uncomfortable. This discomfort may lead to resistance on the part of the men, and Donna, and a desire on the part of the men to assume control of the program themselves.

Jan faces further constraints as an athletic director simply because she is a woman and a mother. Biklen (1980) argues that "one's femininity is clearly related to motherhood" (p. 13) and that "how one performs as a mother is socially evaluated along with one's professional success" (p. 14). Jan has found that as a working mother, her child's demands reduce the time and energy she has to devote to her job.

The men in the physical education department (all fathers) did not experience the same constraints, nor did Donna, who is married, with no children. This motherhood constraint contributes to feelings of social alienation Jan experiences with the members of the physical education department--she does not have the time nor the inclination to socialize with the other physical education staff until the late evening hours. This makes communication and hence negotiation more difficult, because aspects of Jan's job such as facility scheduling and coaching assignments must be determined through negotiation, and depend, to a large extent, upon the willingness of the coaches in the physical education department to cooperate.

Problems With the Principal

The essential problem Jan consistently faces at Mainstream is to find effective ways of legitimizing her administrative position as interschool athletic director in the eyes of the physical education department members, and the principal. Jan's attempt to gain acknowledgement from her new principal continues.

The preparation and administration of the athletics budget is the most influential area of Jan's duties. This is the only area where she does not have to rely on negotiation to fulfill her responsibilities. Prior to the new principal's arrival, Jan was able to exert considerable influence in the area of budget administration. She was responsible for preparing the budget for interschool athletics in consultation with all of the interschool coaches. However, the responsibility for administering the budget is hers alone. Any additional requests for expenditures must go through her, and it was in this area that Jan, with the support from her first principal, initially experienced acknowledgement from the physical education teachers/coaches with whom she worked. It was necessary for Jan to have support from her principal, because John and Paul attempted to circumvent her and go directly to the principal if they desired additional monies in their athletic budget. The principal always sent them back to Jan. With the current principal, Jan receives no such support. The second principal receives and acts upon requests by individual coaches for additional money from the athletics budget without informing Jan that this has been done.

It may have been to Jan's advantage that her first principal was a female, someone who presumably would have some understanding of the constraints and stereotypes imposed upon women administrators. One such constraint upon women who enter educational administration positions is that of marginality--they are only minimally accepted by men already occupying administrative positions (Biklen, 1980). In addition, as schools assume more of the aspects of business corporations, women who have historically been stereotyped as unsuitable as business managers, find it increasingly difficult to gain admittance to administrative positions (Apple, 1983; Biklen, 1980). This research supports, and offers some explanation for the following series of difficulties Jan has been experiencing with her second principal, Jim Smith. It became apparent that Jim regarded Jan as a marginal and inconsequential member of the administrative staff when he requested information on interschool athletics from Richard, the physical education department head four months after school had started. This left Jan with the frustrating feeling that he was unaware of her administrative designation. She asked me, "What does he think I attend the department head meetings for--the coffee?"

Jim neglected to discuss information with Jan about proposed changes in system-wide interschool athletic planning for the coming year, a situation that caused her embarrassment in front of her peers and left her with uncertainty regarding the preparation of the interschool athletic budget for the coming year. In addition, the principal has supported other physical education staff members in their requests for extra funds from the athletic budget, and still has not informed Jan that he has done so.

Jan has experienced further frustration, confusion, and anxiety in her dealings with Bobby, the administrator of an anomalous position created by Jim when he came to Mainstream. Bobby claims to work under the principal's direct authority, and gathers information about the athletic program's financial expenditures without providing any explanation for why he is doing so.

All of these occurrences lead me to the conclusion that the nature of the position of Athletic Director at Mainstream school may change to become less of the decision-making position it was originally intended to be, and become more of a clerical position, with little power of any kind.

Moreover, given the principal's tendency to administer the financial aspect of the interschool athletic program himself, I believe that the position of Assistant Department Head - Student Activities: Athletics will be phased out altogether, and the responsibilities absorbed once again by the physical education department, or by the principal himself.

A Final Word

If high school administrators define interschool athletics as a school need, rather than a program need associated with the physical education department, as was done at Mainstream, then the administration of interschool athletics must be separated as completely as possible from the physical education department.

This may be accomplished in three ways:

1. The adminstrative duties associated with the interschool athletics program must be clearly defined.

a. the administrative duties should be clearly listed before the position is filled.

b. the parameters of the interschool athletics department should be defined, and a clear distinction made between "athletics" and programs organized by the physical education department such as intramurals and sports clubs.

2. The duties of the interschool athletics program administrator must be clearly enunciated to the members of the physical education and athletic departments.

a. lines of communication should be well defined and made known to all as the program is implemented.

b. if athletics are a separate department in the school, everyone must be prepared to support it. Individuals should not be allowed to disrupt or circumvent the established lines of communication if their personal perspectives do not coincide with the department's policies.

3. The administrator of the interschool athletics program should not be a member of the physical education department, for the following reasons:

a. the athletics program usually includes qualified coaches from the physical education department. An individual with a separate administrative designation who does not teach in physical education may alleviate some of the confusion and circumvention present in the system.

Interschool athletics have been associated with high school physical education programs for over forty years in Canada. There is a strong sense of involvement with competitive athletics among many men and women physical educators, regardless of how the program is organized administratively. This proved to be true for all of the physical education personnel at Mainstream, although particular attention was given to the female athletic director in this study.

3

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Appendix A

The Philosophical Base of the Interscholastics Program

Specific Objectives of the Interscholastic Program

The Physical Education program should provide students with the opportunity to develop physical skills, physical fitness, knowledge and understanding, social skills and attitudes and appreciations. As part of the total program, Interscholastics further enhances the opportunity for students to develop in these areas. Due to the nature of athletics, there is a tremendous opportunity for teacher/coaches to build social skills and attitudes and appreciations. The model for the total Physical Education Program is illustrated below. Some of the objectives have been highlighted by an asterisk to reflect their potential through the Interscholastics dimension.

(Frey et al., 1983, p. 3)

As an integral part of total education
PHYSICAL EDUCATION
utilizes
Carefully Selected Activities
to produce the
PHYSICALLY EDUCATED INDIVIDUAL
who possesses

PHYSICAL SKILLS	PHYSICAL FITNESS	KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING	SOCIAL SKILLS	ATTITUDES AND APPRECIATIONS
		Of Rules	Sportsmanship	Desire to participate in physical activities
		Of Strategies	Etiquette	Desire to be physically fit
		Of Community Recreational Opportunities	Cooperation: Teamwork Partnerwork Sharing	Desire to use leisure time wisely
		Of Relaxation: Stress	Responsibility	Interest in health and responsibility for personal care
			Leadership: Followership	Appreciation of quality performance
			Competition	Appreciation of fair-play, operating within the rules
			Communication: Listening Speaking Performing Demonstrating	Respect for opponents, teammates and officials
			Operating within Rules	Appreciation of one's own abilities and the abilities of others
			Self-Control: Work under Pressure	Appreciation of quality effort in the work of others
			Answering Tasks: Following direction	Interest in a positive body concept
			Resourcefulness	
			Self-Direction	Interest in a positive self-concept
			Consideration of others	Feelings of pride and loyalty, in the accomplishments of self, school and others.

Appendix B

A Senior High School Invitational Basketball Tournament

TOURNAMENT HIGHLIGHTS

1. Interprovincial competition with 20 teams.

2. Four games guaranteed for all senior teams and three games for junior boys.

3. All star team awards.

4. MVP rings.

5. Hot shot competition - 1 competitor per team receives T-shirt and chance for prizes.

6. Slam dunk competition - unlimited competitors per team receive T-shirt and chance for prizes.

7. Tournament breakfast, Friday, December 14, 9:30 a.m. (student cafeteria).

   GUEST SPEAKERS

   Mr. Don Horwood, coach, University of Alberta Golden Bear Basketball Team.

   Mr. Bryan Hart, Honorary Chairman. Former Maintream player. A provincial champion, 1971.

   Golden Bear Basketball Team member 1972-1975.

8. Tournament clinic 11 a.m. - noon in Center Gym. Clinician - Mr. Don Horwood.

9. Cheerleading competition - Friday 4 p.m.

10. Coaches social - Friday, 9 p.m. - ?

11. Players' social - Saturday, December 15, approximately 10 p.m. - 1 a.m. Dance.

TOURNAMENT POOLS

Senior Boys and Senior Girls play a round-robin in their pool and the crossover for the playoff round.

Junior Boys play a straight round-robin (points for-against used in case of three way tie at 2-1).

SENIOR BOYS

POOL A	POOL B
	Pitt Meadows
Jasper Place	O'Leary
Salisbury	Lindsay Thurber
Medicine Hat	Lazerte
St. Joseph (Edmonton)	

SENIOR GIRLS

POOL A	POOL B
Jasper Place	O'Leary
Salisbury	St. Joseph (Grande Prairie)
Notre Dame	Lazerte
Medicine Ha	Pitt Meadows

JUNIOR BOYS

Jasper Place
Pitt Meadows
Lindsay Thurber
Medicine Hat

Appendix C

Job Descriptions

Assistant Department Head Responsibilities

Student Activities - Athletic

A. ADMINISTRATION

1. Ensure the preparation of an annual budget in conjunction with co-curricular non-athletic.
2. Coordinate all purchase requests for interschool and intramural programs.
3. Assist the staff advisors in the implementation of the uniform, supplies and equipment policy for interschool teams.
4. Assist and advise the Athletic Council Advisor in the implementation of the intramural program.
5. Inform the staff advisors of the organizational structures of the interschool leagues.
6. Represent Mainstream Composite High School on the Interschool Athletic Advisory Council (I.A.A.C.).
7. Represent students and staff advisors at School Council meetings.
8. Provide staff advisors for all interschool and intramural programs.
9. Facilitate student use of the school facilities.
10. Provide a liason between staff and students.
11. Provide a liason with the Assistant Department Head Student Activities (Non-Athletic).

B. ADVISORY

1. Advise and assist the Athletic Council executive and members.
2. Provide continuity and background knowledge.
3. Implement and maintain an operational handbook for staff advisors.

C. EDUCATIONAL

1. To provide an atmosphere in which students may learn a variety of life-long skills that relate to organizational institutions in our society.

Physical Education Aide

Responsibilities

WHAT MATTERS MUST THE INCUMBENT REFER TO HIS IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR? WHAT DECISIONS CAN BE MADE ON OWN INITIATIVE? WHAT DEGREE OF AUTHORITY TO ACT HAS BEEN DELEGATED IN TERMS OF ESTABLISHING AND ACCOMPLISHING OBJECTIVES?

MATTERS REFERRED TO IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR:

- Must consult with dept. heads on all major purchases and expenditures - also any unusual equipment requests by groups outside of phys. ed.

- Tests, handouts and curriculum are reproduced and utilized at the discretion of the phys. ed. teachers and at their request.

- User fees and deposit amounts are set in consultation with dept. head each year.

DECISIONS ON OWN INITIATIVE:

- Purchase of smaller and standard items. classroom supplies and small repairs and engraving.

- I designate appropriate duties for Leadership Students assigned to the equipment area and evaluate their performance.

- I have set up the learning resources files and inventory procedures on my own as well as designated where specific equipment is to be kept.

(a) WHICH OF THE DUTIES LISTED IS CONSIDERED MOST COMPLEX AND WHY? EQUIPMENT, SUPPLY & UNIFORM INVENTORY & READINESS: --- Most complex because with the large quantity of expensive supplies, equipment and uniforms in phys. ed., spread over a large area, it is important they be closely monitored, maintained and controlled to keep loss to a minimum and to ensure smooth classroom operation.

(b) WHAT MACHINES AND EQUIPMENT ARE USED? WHAT PERCENTAGE OF TIME IS SPENT ON EACH?

MACHINES AND EQUIPMENT USED: -- Typewriter -- 15%

EQUIPMENT & SUPPLIES MANAGEMENT:

1. Monitors use of equipment and readies it for immediate use

   Maintains inventory of all equipment, uniforms and supplies

2. Maintains equipment in functional order and initiates repairs as needed (assists Dept. Head with safety check).

3. Assists in the ordering of equipment, uniforms and supplies in conjunction with the Dept. Heads (Phys. Ed. & Athletics), also budget preparation.

LEARNING RESOURCES MANAGEMENT:

1. Maintains learning resource area (audio-visual, curricular and learning resources).

2. Issues and records team uniforms and handles deposits and refunds, also ensures they are stored clean and in good repair.

3. All dept. typing in terms of handouts, tests, letters and correspondence. Attends all phys. ed. dept. meetings and records minutes.

4. Supervises and evaluates Athletic Leadership students assigned to the equipment area.

5. Assists Athletic Council, teacher sponsors and coaches where necessary.

6. Works closely with Community School also with Yearbook to ensure teams are all included.

(a) DUTIES ADDED AND WHERE THEY CAME FROM: Athletic Leadership Supervision, came from start of new course called Athletic Leadership.

Duties such as taking of minutes, correspondence and uniform deposits and refunds arose out of the needs of the dept. to function more smoothly and efficiently.

(b) DUTIES TAKEN AWAY AND WHERE THEY WENT:

(c) POSITION NUMBERS AND CLASS TITLES OF POSITIONS CONSIDERED TO ENTAIL THE SAME KIND AND LEVEL OF WORK:

Appendix D

Mainstream School Athletic Budget

1985-1986

PROGRAM - CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

The co-curricular activities program provides for the supervision and organization of student council activities and athletic program of inter-school and intramural sports.

REVIEW OF 1984-1985 OBJECTIVES:

1. Students were encouraged to become part of the Mainstream spirit by their participation in various school events.

2. Community and staff participation was encouraged in school sponsored events but due to economic constraints no time was provided for staff except through program needs arranged within each department.

3. The Physical Education Department continued to assist the Counselling Department and Administration with Grade 10 registration, orientation, and welcome activities.

4. Active athletic and grade 10 councils were maintained.

5. Levying a fee of $5.00/student for student activities was continued.

6. The promotion and enhancement of the positive image of Mainstream within and outside of the school continued.

REVIEW OF 1984-85 OBJECTIVES (NON-ATHLETIC):

1. Students were encouraged to become involved in the organizing and provision of varied activities in Mainstream.

2. Students and staff participated in workshops related to student activities.

3. Communications continued to improve within and outside the school.

4. The student activities organization within the school was reviewed with three staff members taking over tasks of student advisor, dance supervisor, and grade ten council.

5. Students were encouraged to become involved in various school committees.

PROGRAM - CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

REVIEW OF 1984-85 OBJECTIVES (ATHLETIC):

1. The provision of funding for athletics through decentralized budgeting was continued.

2. Team uniforms for junior basketball, soccer, and field hockey teams were purchased.

3. The use of the "user" fee for the maintenance of team uniforms continued.

4. Due to economic constraints the purchase of supplies for inter-school and intramural programs was affected.

5. Room 235 was upgraded as a team storage room but will still need some work done on it.

6. The liason with our feeder schools and community by promoting high school events improved.

7. A feeder junior high school volleyball tournament and a feeder junior high school basketball tournament were sponsored with great success.

8. An athletic banquet for inter-school and intramural participants was hosted in June.

9. The improvement of the decor of the large gymnasium was affected by economic constraints.

10. A high school junior team basketball tournament was hosted with great success.

OBJECTIVES 1985-86:

1. To re-establish the position of Assistant Department head Non-Athletic.
2. To encourage students to become part of the Mainstream spirit by their participation in various school events.
3. To continue to assist the Counselling Department and Administration with grade 10 registration, orientation, and welcome activities.
4. To maintain active athletic and grade 10 councils.
5. To continue levying a fee of $5.00/student for student activities.
6. To enhance and promote the positive image of Mainstream within and outside the school.

OBJECTIVES 1985-86 (NON-ATHLETIC):

1. To encourage students to become involved in the organizing and provision of varied activities in Mainstream.
2. To provide for student and staff participation in workshops related to student activities.
3. To further promote school spirit by increasing the amount of activities and to have them better advertised.
4. To provide better guidance and support for students, thereby increasing the quality of this learning experience.
5. To do a review of the student activities organization within the school including a revision of the constitution.
6. To encourage students to become involved in various school clubs, committees, events, and issues.

OBJECTIVES 1985-86 (ATHLETIC):

1. To purchase new uniforms for Senior Boys Soccer and replacement uniforms for all other teams.
2. To continue the use of the "user" fee for the maintenance of team uniforms.
3. To continue to upgrade our inter-school and intramural programs by purchasing supplies.
4. To improve liasion with our feeder schools and community by promoting high school events.
5. To continue to sponsor a feeder junior high school volleyball and basketball tournament.
6. To continue to sponsor a high school junior team basketball tournament.
7. To host an athletic banquet in the fall for inter-school and intramural sports involved, and in the spring for the inter-school and intramural sports involved at that time.
8. To look at ways to promote inter-school and intramural sports by improving the decor of large gymnasium.
9. To provide funding for the purchase of gifts for the time that community volunteers give to the interschool program.
10. To provide funding for professional development specific to inter-school and intramural programs.

LONG RANGE OBJECTIVE (ATHLETIC):

To purchase and maintain uniforms for all team sports.

STAFFING:

2 Assistant Department Heads	$4.656

Mainstream Composite High School - BUDGET SUMMARY

School Based Budget 1985/86 Term.

Department: Co-curricular Athletic (320)

Department head: Jan Whitehead

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Page No.		Estimated Requirements $
1.	7611 - Supplies	15,629.00
2.	7641 - Textbooks ....$_____	
3.	7642 - Periodicals 7643 - Reference Materials ...$_____	_____
	7651 - Media Materials ....$_____	
	5250 - Support Staff (F.T.E. ___)...	_____
4.	6419 - Professional Services .... (Guest Speaker, etc.)	_____
4.	5380 - Professional Development .... (Travel & Subsistence - Dues and Fees)	400.00
4.	6439 - Miscellaneous Services	4,842.22
4.	6471 - Transportation of Pupils ...	5,800.00
4.	6521 - Rental of Equipment	_____
5.	6512 - Maintenance & Repair Contracts (Outside Companies) $_____	_____
	7620 - Repair/Maintenance Equipment (By RCSB Maintenance) $_____	
5.	7751 - Furniture and Equipment	2,500.00
	TOTAL BUDGET	29,171.00

Mainstream Composite High School

School Based Budget 1985/86 Term

Supplies - (definition - see attached list)

7611 - Supplies - (PLEASE ITEMIZE) $

FOOTBALL:

3	Senior Jerseys	72.00
10	Junior Jerseys	240.00
30	Helmets @ $140.00	4,200.00
12	Girdles @ $30.00	360.00
20	Kidney Belts @ $18.00	370.00
20	Shoulder Pads @ $85.00	1,700.00
	Hardware for Helmets Upkeep	100.00
40	Game Pants @ $20.00	800.00
4	J5V Footballs @ $55.00	220.00
10	Sets of Thigh Pads @ $7.90	79.00
10	Sets of Knee Pads @ $5.50	55.00
45	Mouth Guards	

VOLLEYBALL:

4	Jerseys @ $18.00	72.00
8	Volleyballs (game) @ $20.00	160.00
8	Water Bottles @ $2.50	20.00
2	Flip Charts @ $34.95	69.90

FIELD HOCKEY:

24	Field Hockey Balls @ $4.00	96.00
1	Chest Pad	23.20
1	Mask	8.25
12	Sticks @ $24.95	299.40
15	Long Sleeve Jerseys @ $16.70	250.50

BASKETBALL (BOYS):

1	Black Jersey @ $23.00	23.00
2	White Jerseys @ $23.00	46.00
1	Jersey Jr. @ $14.00	14.00
1	Short Jr. @ $20.00	20.00
1	Short Sr. @ $20.00	20.00
4	Wilson Jets @ $67.00	268.00
15	Shooting Shirts @ $18.25	273.75

Mainstream Composite High School

School Based Budget 1985/86 Term

Supplies - (definition - see attached list)

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7611 - Supplies - (PLEASE ITEMIZE)	$
BASKETBALL (GIRLS):	
6 Jerseys @ $20.00	92.00
6 Shorts @ $19.95	100.00
4 Basketballs (Size 6) @ $49.90	199.60
SWIMMING:	
4 Stopwatches @ $16.00	64.00
25 Swimming Caps @ $2.00	50.00
SOCCER:	
15 Jerseys @ $20.00	300.00
15 Shorts @ $10.00	150.00
4 Soccer Balls @ $20.00	80.00
1 Goalie Shirt @ 25.00	25.00
BADMINTON:	
15 Racquets @ $22.50	337.50
10 Shuttlecocks @ $7.00	70.00
TRACK & FIELD:	
20 Jerseys @ $11.25	225.90
21 Shorts @ $13.95	292.95
2 Measuring Tapes @ $14.00	28.00
Track Spikes	20.00
CURLING:	
4 Sweaters @ $60.00	240.00
CHEERLEADING:	
15 Sweaters @ $38.95	194.75
15 Skirts @ $39.95	199.75
15 Shorts @ $4.30	27.00
15 Pr. Socks @ $4.95	29.70
21 Pompoms @ $29.95	544.95

Mainstream Composite High School

School Based Budget 1985/86 Term

Supplies - (definition - see attached list)

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	7611 - Supplies - (PLEASE ITEMIZE)	$
	WRESTLING:	
10	Singlets @ 23.75	237.50
	ATHLETIC TRAINING SUPPLIES:	
	Training Tape (2 cases) @ $30.00 per case	60.00
2	Cases Cold Packs @ $19.50/case	39.00
2	Tape Cutters @ $10.60	21.20
1	Case Pro Wrap @ $58.90	58.90
	ATHLETIC COUNCIL:	
5	Black Felt pens	2.50
6	Pkg Orange Construction Paper	9.00
100	File Folders Legal Size	6.00
20	Bristol Board Orange/Black	10.00
2	Stencils @ $8.00	16.00
5	Rolls Wide Masking Tape	9.00
	Miscellaneous (Photo Film, Developing, Laminating, Prizes, Crests, etc.)	200.00
	MISCELLANEOUS:	
	Customs and Shipping	500.00
	Remuneration for outside coaches (12 @ $25.00)	300.00
	Payment for Referees	50.00
	Engraving Costs	50.00
	Athletic Banquet	400.00
7	Team Warm-up Pants @ $26.00	182.00
	TOTAL	15,008.00
	(LESS:) Uniform deposits	3,680.00
	(ADD) Non-athletic (per attached list)	4.201.00
	Duplication	100.00
		15,629.00

Mainstream Composite High School

BUDGET SUMMARY

School Based Budget 1986/87 Term.

Department: Co-curricular Athletic (320)

Department head: Jan Whitehead

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Page No.		Estimated Requirements $
1.	7611 - Supplies	14,818.00
2.	7641 - Textbooks ....$_____	
3.	7642 - Periodicals 7643 - Reference Materials ...$_____	_____
	7651 - Media Materials ....$_____	
	5250 - Support Staff (F.T.E. ___)...	_____
4.	6419 - Professional Services .... (Guest Speaker, etc.)	_____
4.	5380 - Professional Development .... (Travel & Subsistence - Dues and Fees)	400.00
4.	6439 - Miscellaneous Services	6,440.00
4.	6471 - Transportation of Pupils ...	6,250.00
4.	6521 - Rental of Equipment	_____
5.	6512 - Maintenance & Repair Contracts (Outside Companies) $_____	
	7620 - Repair/Maintenance Equipment (By RCSB Maintenance) $_____	_____
5.	7751 - Furniture and Equipment	_____
	TOTAL BUDGET	27,508.00

River City District High School Athletic Expenditures

1984-85

HIGH SCHOOLS	BOYS $ Amount	%	GIRLS $ Amount	%	CO-ED $ Amount	%	TOTAL $
A	10,104	59	5,802	34	1,200	7	17,106
B	8,480	71	2,280	19	1,230	10	11,990
C	12,303	61	5,083	25	2,900	14	20,286
D	4,200	42	3,700	37	2,000	20	9,900
E	10,900	45	5,300	22	7,800	33	24,000
Mainstream	10,906	62	3,299	19	3,331	19	17,536
G	8,653	40	3,097	14	9,723	45	21,473
H	711	78	-	0	200	22	911
I	10,700	59	3,800	21	3,700	20	18,200
J	6,425	58	2,425	22	2,175	20	11,025
K	10,215	53	5,380	28	3,732	19	19,327
L	2,600	79	500	15	200	6	3,300
TOTALS	96,197	55	40,666	23	38,191	22	175,054
Less: Expenditures on Football	51,120	100					51,120
TOTAL LESS FOOTBALL EXPENDITURE	45,077	36	40,666	33	38,191	31	123,934

(River City School Board Memorandum: Sept. 3, 1985)

Appendix E

Field Notes

EXCERPT #1

FROM: MON.-NOV.3 1985

TIME: 3:30 - 5:00 P.M.

SETTING: SMALL (NORTH) AND LARGE (SOUTH) GYMS SR. AND JR. GIRLS' AND BOYS' BASKETBALL TEAM TRYOUTS.

This excerpt begins about half way through the session.

OBSERVATIONS and REFLECTIONS:

The seniors (girls) were working in one half of the small gym, the juniors (girls) in the other. There didn't seem to be very many kids out for either team, although I found out later that the junior girls' coach is expecting up to five more kids--that'll make 15 altogether!

I thought the turn-out very poor for both girls' teams. I'll have to check and see if it was the same for volleyball.

Both coaches (Donna and Marg) were involved with their own practices and there was no unnecessary communication between the coaches or the teams.

The junior and senior boys' team tryouts were going on in the large gym so I went in and watched there for a while also. There were about 12 - 15 senior boys working out and 25 - 30 junior boys.

The level of expertise appears to be vastly different for the boys and girls--particularly the seniors, not necessarily the juniors--the boys are miles ahead of the girls in basic skills.

The boys had a number of spectators wandering in and out of their practice--the girls had none, but their gym was freezing. I asked Donna and Jan later and found that the teams switch gyms every practice so the girls aren't stuck with the cold gym all the time.

EXCERPT #2

FROM: DEC. 3 1985

TIME: 3:33 - 5:00 P.M.

SETTING: STAFF COFFEE ROOM AND LARGE GYM

CONVERSATION

-went with Jan to the coffee room for coffee before the boys' game (sr.) started. We got into an interesting conversation. Unfortunately, I didn't have my tape recorder, but I got down most of the main points to check later.

-the main points include the following:

1. Paul is charging admission for the boys' game today--$1.00 a student and parents and teachers free. The first Jan heard about it was through the student announcements this morning.

Journal Excerpts

DEC. 3, 1985: I went out to observe a senior girls' b'ball game yesterday (see Observations--Dec.2,'85). I was interested to find myself rooting for Mainstream. I was surprised that I would feel some sort of partiality for the school, but when I began to think about it, I've been there enough to start recognizing faces, knowing names, even talk a little about team stuff with the kids, and the coaches ...

QUESTIONS: Am I looking for differences in girls' and boys' teams? What, and why?

Do the differences affect the athletic program? How? In what way?

If there are differneces, are they accepted as being an integral part of the program, or is there resistance? How?

Do coaches in the program interact?

Is there cooperation between coaches, or does everyone just do their own thing? If there is little interaction, why?

DEC.14,1986: I wrote quite a bit today in my Observations notebook about the conversation Jan and I had before the game started. I want to go through that write-up tomorrow and develop some questions. Those questions, plus the ones I asked yesterday, may be consolidated into some basic questions that will help focus the study.